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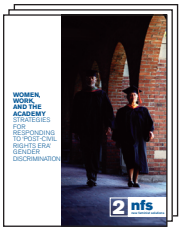

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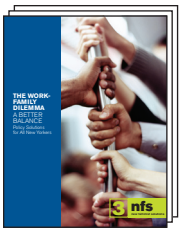

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TOWARD A VISION OF SEXUAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Written by Kate Bedford and Janet R. Jakobsen
Published by the Barnard Center for Research on Women

In recent years, the Barnard Center for Research on Women has made a concerted effort to link feminist struggles to those for racial, economic, social, and global justice. We have built invaluable cooperative relationships with a far-reaching network of scholars, activists, and artists who contribute to the long struggle to make our world more just.

This report is based on the Virginia C. Gildersleeve Lecture and colloquium at Barnard College, with keynote speakers Josephine Ho and Naomi Klein. The participants in the colloquium have all made significant contributions to our understandings of global justice as activists, artists, and scholars who have explored the meanings of economic justice and sexual justice and have worked to build links between these spheres. The aim of the workshop was to articulate connections between struggles for sexual justice and economic justice and to develop new visions of how different people and movements might come together in their efforts to create justice. This report provides a synthesis of the short thought papers the participants developed in preparation for the colloquium (available at www.barnard.edu/bcrw/justice/index.htm) and their conversations during the workshop. We thank them for their commitment, intelligence, and generosity:

Radhika Balakrishnan
Kate Bedford
Suzanne Bergeron
Elizabeth Bernstein
Jon Binnie
Ann Cammett
Davina Cooper
Lisa Duggan
Mary Margaret Fonow
Gisela Fosado
Claudia Hinojosa
Josephine Ho
Janet Jakobsen
Kamala Kempadoo
Naomi Klein
Gabrielle Le Roux
Irene León
Njoki Njoroge Njehû
Rhacel Salazar Parreñas
Brooke Gruundfest Schoepf
Stephanie Seguino
Svati Shah
Anna Marie Smith
Neferti Tadiar
Ara Wilson

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INTRODUCTION

SEXUAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Two struggles for global justice lie at the heart of this report, which is based on conversations held at Barnard College in the fall of 2007[1]: the multipronged effort to secure greater economic justice in our societies and our lives, and the complex struggle to achieve sexual justice in our societies and our lives. Specifically, this report asks: How do we conceive of the connections between the too-often radically separated arenas of sexual and economic justice? How do we understand recent changes in (inter)national political economy in relation to sexuality? What possibilities—if any—do contemporary formulations of global capitalism open up for alternative sexual politics, and conversely what new sexual norms and regulations are being forged in the neoliberal world order? What can we learn from those who work at the intersection of these struggles for justice, and how, fundamentally, can we facilitate their efforts?

Obstacles and Dominant Framings

To answer those questions, it is necessary to move beyond the perceived separation between these two issues and the movements with which they are associated. Contemporary movements for global economic justice have not tended to consider issues of sexuality relevant to their work, while campaigns for sexual rights rarely foreground economic concerns. For example, although feminist struggles for reproductive rights and bodily integrity have provided crucial models for other movements organizing at the international level, these struggles may be regarded as peripheral, or nonmaterial, by people interested in challenging global economic injustice. It has also been hard for some activists working in reproductive rights struggles to raise issues of economic justice (Balakrishnan) and/or lesbian sexuality (Hinojosa). Likewise, within academia, conversations about poverty, structural adjustment, and neoliberalism have occurred largely apart from research on sexual rights, the emergence of "global gay" identity, sex tourism, trafficking, and sex work. This gap exists even as issues like trafficking—once concerned mainly with sweatshop labor—have come to be synonymous with sexuality.

On the one hand, as one of our participants put it, "sexual justice and economic justice do not enjoy the same kind of legitimacy in discussion. A lot of talk about sexuality is completely forbidden, is criminal" (Ho). In parts of Africa, for instance, "the notion of economic justice is widely embraced," with church leaders, nongovernmental organizations, and local, national, and transnational campaigns foregrounding the term. But "sexual justice does not enjoy the same 'respectability' or support" (Njehû). Meanwhile, in other circles, particularly in the US academy, it can be less difficult to talk about certain gay and lesbian rights than to talk about poverty or class inequality (Smith). The division between sexual and economic justice has also been named and further entrenched

1. References to participants in parentheses are to the colloquium thought papers to be found at www.barnard.edu/bcrw/justice/index.htm

THE DIVISION BETWEEN SEXUAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE HAS BEEN NAMED AND ENTRENCHED IN A NUMBER OF WAYS—AS A DIVISION BETWEEN MINORITY AND MAJORITY POLITICS, SOCIAL POLITICS AND CULTURAL POLITICS, RECOGNITION AND REDISTRIBUTION, NEED AND DESIRE. PERHAPS MOST DAMAGINGLY, IT HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD AS A DIVISION BETWEEN REAL POLITICS—WAR AND THE ECONOMY, FOR EXAMPLE—AND THE FRIVOLOUS, UNREAL CONCERNS OF A WEALTHY WESTERN GAY ELITE. THESE DIVISIONS ARE GETTING HARDER TO SUSTAIN.

in a number of ways—as a division between minority and majority politics, social politics and cultural politics, recognition and redistribution, need and desire (Duggan; León; Shah; Wilson). Perhaps most damagingly, it has been understood as a division between real politics—war and the economy, for example—and the frivolous, unreal concerns of a wealthy Western gay elite (Binnie).

These divisions are getting harder to sustain, and the interconnection between sexual and economic justice is now recognized, at least in some places. Feminists have long argued that decisions about intimacy are heavily influenced by resources (Hinojosa), and they have repeatedly insisted that neither reproductive rights nor sexual autonomy can be discussed apart from economic justice. Hence at the interpersonal level we already know that women who are in a weaker economic position than men are less able to negotiate safer sex (Seguino; Gruundfest Schoepf). We also know that one's choice of intimate relational bonds can have profound economic consequences. In the United States, for example, one major means of acquiring health insurance is to be placed on the health plan of a partner, such that sexual connection is also a connection to health care. Meanwhile a study of more than 4,000 people in the European Community found that while a man's income increases, on average, by 11 percent after divorce, a woman's falls by around 17 percent, making divorce a key economic justice issue for many feminists (Jansen et al. 2007).

These interconnections are also evident on the macroeconomic level. For example, reproductive health services have been devastated by funding cuts in many parts of the world, and progress in health indicators has been reversed in some areas: between 1990 and 2000 maternal deaths rose in numerous countries, from the poorest (Nicaragua, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Mauritania), to middle-income nations (Panama, Russia), to some of the richest (United States and United Kingdom) (World Bank 2006). Structural-adjustment measures have also damaged the health infrastructure of many nations, reducing

KEY TERMS
NEOLIBERALISM

We understand neoliberalism as an economic, political, and cultural shift that has produced a global activist response. As a set of macroeconomic policies, neoliberalism prioritizes a free-market model of growth that rests on deregulation, free trade, privatization, and retrenchment of state-provided social services. These policies can be traced back to the mid 1970s. They have intensified the struggles for daily survival in which the poor are engaged and generated increased insecurity for the majority of the world's population.

For example, neoliberalism has sparked broad economic changes that make work increasingly precarious, including the decline in unionized manufacturing jobs; the growth of service-sector work; a new economy that emphasizes labor market flexibility and "just-in-time" production methods through which businesses attempt to respond more immediately to market pressures; and an increase in subcontracting and self-employment (Fudge and Owens 2006, 7). These changes in turn have led to growing numbers of people in insecure work, with temporary contracts, and irregular hours. As a result, the issue of precarious work is currently central to the agendas of many of the large international labor unions (Vosko 2006).

We emphasize, however, that neoliberalism and the precariousness that it entails is about more than economics and employment-related changes. For its implementation, neoliberalism relies on varied political strategies. To those who trace the experience of neoliberalism to General Pinochet's Chile, the free-market economic model is associated with military dictatorship and repression (Klein 2007). Moreover, throughout the 1980s multilateral development institutions advised indebted countries to pursue free-market policies, using a range of conditions designed to lock-in required approaches to economic policy. In 1989 an average of 56 conditions were attached to structural adjustment loans, although some had over 100 (van Dijck 1998, 113). Hence, in much of the Global South neoliberalism has been associated with reductions in state sovereignty and the attempt to insulate economic policy from popular participation or debate. For such reasons the term has considerable activist import and ability to mobilize resistance, and it is used by many social movements.

Increasing focus on making individuals responsible for managing their lives and for governing their conduct so as to fit with the market is another key characteristic of neoliberalism. In this regard entrepreneurship and a focus on individual responsibility are core political strategies associated with the term (Rose 1999).

However recent moves to make the free market model more sustainable and inclusive—themselves promoted by global protest and crisis—have raised new questions about the political forms being taken by neoliberalism. With NGOs increasingly called upon to help with the social management of capitalism and with a range of attempts to secure sustainability of growth through anti-indigence programs, has neoliberalism entered an adjusted phase, employing different political techniques and associated with different, apparently more benign configurations of power? Or has the free-market model become more savage than ever, reliant on what Naomi Klein has termed a multi-pronged "shock doctrine" involving total war, economic crisis, and psychological terror geared toward generating massive profit for multinational corporations? These unresolved questions about neoliberalism—a formation Klein referred to as the consummate shape shifter—not only shape academic conversations about the current state of the global order; they also help set the terms of activist engagement with governments and multilateral lenders.

their ability to cope with the growing HIV/AIDS crisis (Gruundfest Schoepf). In a similar vein, HIV/AIDS activists who have concentrated on sexual justice issues related to the transmission of the disease are increasingly focused on the need for global health-care reform and alterations in global trade policy to permit access to life-saving drugs (see page 22). These instances constitute clear moments in which global debates about economics and sexuality intersect, and from these moments social movements have accumulated important lessons about how to struggle for justice in a comprehensive way.

As many of the participants (e.g., Bergeron, Hinojosa, Shah, and Wilson) point out, however, one of the major obstacles to bringing movements together is the way both economic and sexual justice are currently framed. The way an issue is framed is crucial to motivating participation and garnering support. The framing of movements also influences their potential connection to other movements. Our participants raised concerns about how the current framing of economic and sexual justice blocks connections among movements, and they also presented alternative means of framing economic and sexual justice so as to facilitate interrelation.

Economic Justice

What is meant when economic justice is invoked? This question is particularly important because the answer is so different for so many different people. For free marketeers and libertarians the meaning of economic

NEOLIBERALISM WAS SUPPOSED TO CREATE EVER-EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPRTUNITY AND BRING MORE AND MORE PEOPLE TO ECONOMIC PROSPERITY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT AND FREE TRADE . . . INSTEAD THESE POLICIES HAVE TENDED TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLES FOR DAILY SURVIVAL IN WHICH THE POOR ARE ENGAGED, AND TO GENERATE EXTREME INSECURITY SUCH THAT PRECARIOUSNESS IS A DEFINING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEOLIBERAL EXPERIENCE.

justice is equity based on formal rights such as private property, the limited role of the state, openness to international trade, and an increasing focus on the responsibilities of individuals—in other words, the policies of neoliberalism that activists have criticized for creating vast economic inequity rather than justice.

Dedication to economic justice as defined solely in terms of the free market has been countered by movements that connect justice and equity issues to the achievement of well-being for all citizens. Some of these movements have worked within the framework of capitalist economics to develop forms of capitalism that provide for human beings better than does neoliberalism. The most well known of these approaches, developed by economist Amartya Sen and institutionalized through UN projects like the UN Human Development Report, links human well-being to the notion of capabilities (Sen 1999). As the UN states, "Development is ... about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means—if a very important one—of enlarging people's choices. Fundamental to enlarging these choices is building human capabilities—the range of things that people can do or be in life. The most basic capabilities for human development are to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community" (UN Development Programme 2005).

Proponents of the capabilities approach argue that the state may have to play a mediating role to address the points at which the free market fails to provide for well-being in these terms—including the development of policies that ensure a social safety net and attenuate the vagaries of unregulated capitalist market economies. Such policies could include controls on the mobility of finance capital; the provision by the state of health care, childcare, and education; the use of progressive tax provisions that limit income disparities; social security insurance for retirement and against disability; and economic policies that encourage fair access to employment. In this view, the role of the state is conceptualized as not just providing goods and services but as a counterbalance to unregulated capital. Because neoliberalism promotes just such a vision of unregulated capitalism and also poses an imminent threat to the provision of the social resources deemed necessary to realize human capabilities, much of the current political debate is focused on trying to protect, restore, or enact basic state provisions.

These are important struggles and questions, but there is also an entire set of activist projects and social movements that are dedicated to changing the structure of economic life such that redistribution and balance between people and profit is no longer the best that we can do. A fight between unregulated free marketeers and more progressive capitalists can block out a vision of even more profound economic changes. For activists and movements interested in the latter, economic justice means a set of economic arrangements that do not disadvantage large sectors of society from the start—such that the state needs to make up for these disadvantages. Rather, just economic arrangements are understood to be those that provide for people and the earth. In pursuing this alternative possibility for economic justice, we need to ask, again, what is the economy for? How does the economy help people to create lives of value, lives that not only provide pleasure but that organize work so that it might be pleasurable? These questions are important sites of debate and even argument, but they also provide potential points of connection with sexual justice.

Sexual Justice

As with the different visions of economic justice outlined above, there are different visions of sexual politics and justice at work in our world today. Lisa Duggan outlined two dominant visions: 1) a conservative sexual politics organized around the regulation of sexuality, which encompasses a host of policies that have been promoted under the sign of "family values." These include restrictions on funding for reproductive health, homophobic policies reiterating the institutionalization of heterosexual marriage or criminalizing same-sex sexuality, cutbacks on sex education, and restrictions on AIDS prevention efforts; 2) a liberal politics of sexual equality that has focused on "women's rights" and "gay rights," and that often includes campaigns for the right of same-sex

couples to marry and movements for sexual freedom understood in a rights-based sense. In addition to basic political rights, equality movements sometimes promote economic freedoms that include issues like "gay tourism" or rights to commercial sex. As Duggan pointed out, these rights-based models tend to focus on sexual freedom in isolation from other issues, including economic justice, but also from the politics of race and nation. As a result, sexual rights may be promoted in ways that play into contemporary racism and imperialism. With the issue of "gay tourism," for example, battles for "gay rights" globally are often fought for the benefit of white gay men and lesbians from industrialized countries who wish to travel to areas of the world, like the Caribbean, that are economically dominated by the Global North.[2]

Although there are, of course, dramatic differences between sexual politics organized around regulation and politics organized around equality, both models fit well with neoliberalism and so they are sometimes analyzed as two sides of the same coin. In particular, as Josephine Ho discussed, the battle between regulation and equality manages the different sides of a capitalist economy that simultaneously breaks down traditional social relations and also depends on well-regulated social relations for its existence. This means that while capitalism may sometimes break down controls over sexuality, these shifts and openings will likely be accompanied or followed by concomitant efforts at re-regulation. So, for example, while teenagers in Taiwan are more independent of their parents' traditional authority, they are also subject to new forms of monitoring, particularly in relation to new technologies like the Internet.

In grappling with these complexities and the contradictory pressures they place on social movements, activists and scholars are grappling with a question that has confounded simple answers for centuries: is capitalism sexually oppressive or sexually liberating? Our participants concurred that it is necessary to move beyond either/or answers to this question, to investigate the both/and answers—to consider the possibilities that contemporary formulations of global capitalism open up for alternative sexual politics as well as the new sexual norms and regulations being forged in the neoliberal world order. For example, Radhika Balakrishnan argues that capitalism's effects on women can be liberating and exploitative, by giving them increased autonomy and simultaneously subjecting them to sexual objectification. Ara Wilson has analyzed malls in Bangkok as both fostering possibilities for sexual expression—both for heterosexual couples and same-sex female ones—and reinforcing an economic citizenship predicated on consumption (Wilson 2004, 132). Similarly, as Stephanie Seguino points out, one of the reasons either/or answers to this question are not possible is precisely because sexuality is, like the

2. See Puar (2001), Alexander (2005), Kempadoo (2004).

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FROM THE STATE MAY BE NECESSARY TO THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING THAT ALLOWS FOR FREEDOM OF SEXUAL EXPRESSION.

economy, so multifaceted. The term "sexuality" can refer to sexual expression, pleasure, bodily integrity, and reproductive rights and care, among other elements. "Thus, neoliberalism may lead to less sexual oppression on the expression and pleasure front. But it may also lead to a diminished role of the state, and result in women's income falling relative to men's, reducing women's access to reproductive health, and limiting their bargaining power within relationships."[3] The choice between regulation and equality is too limited for analysis of these contradictory dynamics.

Moving ahead in this analysis requires us to go beyond the erotophobia and homophobia of some traditionally left-wing parties and social movements (Binnie). However, it also requires that we better understand the various forms of pleasure associated with (but in no way subsumed by) capitalism—to consider what Balakhrishan terms the micro-pleasures in work, for example, and the ways in which women consumers may experience themselves as entitled to desires and to the products meant to satisfy them. Indeed, participants had a frank discussion about commerce in this respect, with some critiquing consumption as the problem (Gruundfest Schoepf), and others wondering if developments in consumption can provide crucial lessons or maybe even transgressive space for those interested in sexuality and markets (Balakhrishnan,

3. For a similar analysis of the impact of globalization on sexuality see The Campaign for an Inter-American Convention on Sexual and Reproductive Rights (2006).

Wilson). Certainly, though, our vision of sexual justice must have space for pleasure and desire, and it must thus grapple with how to reclaim those terms from their currently commodified status.[4]

Just as complicated as the relation between sexuality and capitalism is the relation between sexuality and the state. Sexual justice may well require the work of the state to provide for human capabilities. Institutional support from the state may be necessary to the economic well-being that allows for freedom of sexual expression, for example. And yet, regulation by the state may be the block to that very same freedom. Hence, as with the debate over commodities in relation to sexual justice, the participants engaged in a lively conversation about the role of the state in promoting sexual justice. Some argued that the role of the state is a problem that repeatedly tends toward regulation, and what Michel Foucault (1991) calls "governmentality." Others argued that the state had a crucial role to play in providing social and economic resources and opportunities necessary to the realization of sexual justice. This complexity is only intensified when sexual and economic justice are brought together. Some groups interested in economic justice may appeal to the state as a bulwark against neoliberalism, but struggle with maintaining a critique of the state as a site of normative sexual regulation (Shah).

Because of these complexities regarding both capitalism and the state, we hope to find a way outside the relentless back and forth between regulation and equality, as well as between free markets and appeals to the state as a defender of normative sexuality. Our project is to explore a third vision of sexual justice that extends beyond narrow versions of rights that fit with the market and particularly with neoliberalism and that presume a limited role for the state in guaranteeing those narrow rights. In short, we are interested in a vision of sexual justice that would challenge economic injustice along with the denial of sexual rights. To accomplish this task, we need to rethink the meaning of economic and sexual justice as well as their relation.

4. See also the work of the Sexuality Institute at the Institute of Development Studies, which has foregrounded the need to incorporate pleasure into global development efforts addressing sexuality.

KEY TERMS
NORMATIVITY

Scholars and activists have developed the concept of "normativity" as a means of understanding the ties between social or political power and moral norms. Modern public concern with gender and sexuality ties moral norms about complementary male and female genders, monogamous couples, and the nuclear family to a host of social policies and regulations, from health care to immigration to structural adjustment. Those who do not fit the normative model of gender and sexuality may be unable to access a range of social and governmental benefits, from the right to cross national borders to the right to be treated decently in the workplace. These normative structures make both transgendered people and sexual minorities particularly vulnerable to social marginalization and economic deprivation.

Scholars working with the concept of sexual normativity initially focused on heteronormativity—the institutions, structures, and practices that help normalize dominant forms of heterosexuality as universal and morally righteous (Berlant and Warner 1998, 548). These include obvious institutions like the government restriction of marriage to heterosexuals, and less obvious but nonetheless ubiquitous practices like the romantic plots of TV shows, movies, and novels or the persistent questions of one's relatives as to whether one is "married yet."

Crucially, in addition to harming those sexual minorities who are excluded from consideration, heteronormativity regulates the lives of heterosexual people in ways that often make their lives more difficult. For example, "straight" people who do not conform to the ideal of a lifelong commitment in a monogamous couple may find themselves disadvantaged in terms of pensions and receipt of social benefits; those raising children outside of normative partnerships may face sanction; those who do not want to or who cannot reproduce may be stigmatized. Normativity creates a society in which some are included within the "charmed circle" (Rubin 1993 [1984], 13) of social acceptability and others are not—whether they fall outside this circle because of the way they live their heterosexuality or because they are homosexual or transgendered.

There is now increasing recognition that gay and lesbian people can be drawn into the normative matrix and induced to create themselves in the image of the normative heterosexual couple in the hope of obtaining the rights and benefits enjoyed by normative heterosexuals. Those newly included must carefully regulate their own activities so as not to move outside the boundaries of the "charmed circle." As Jon Binnie points out, marking normative from non-normative populations is increasingly complex in this context. Sex and the erotic play key roles. He notes that "A distinction is created between affluent, entrepreneurial, professional gays of the creative and tourist economy and those who are the 'queer unwanted' —whose lifestyles are less respectable and do not fit the narratives of urban regeneration strategies…. In articulating a vision for economic and sexual justice we need to recognise the significance of the erotic and sex itself in articulating distinctions between those whose bodies are seen to matter, and those who are seen as without value."

Gender and sexual normativity is also tied to other forms of normative regulation, including those of race and religion. As a result, policies like welfare reform in the United States can be organized around the idea of the sexual deviancy of teenage mothers and female-headed households, as a means of enacting (without mentioning) a deeply racialized economic policy (Smith). Similarly, in international policy, it is possible for political actors to invoke differences in sexual norms as a key marker of national differences. This sets up a dynamic in which, for example, Western governments may use what they portray as a lack of sexual liberalness in certain countries as an indicator of a social failure, while non-Western governments may similarly claim sexual regulation as a key feature in distinguishing themselves from "the West." In other words, normativity is a regulative matrix that operates through distinctions of gender, race, class, religion, ethnicity and nation.

NEW LINKAGES

In the course of our discussions the question of how to limk the two themes of sexual and economic justice sometimes seemed simple and direct, while at other times it proved nearly impossible for us to maintain the connection despite the stated intent of the colloquium. As one participant noted, "we should recognize some of the difficulty of addressing this juncture, [for example,] in the symptomatic way that, at the workshop, 'sexual justice' often became talk of reproduction and then of women qua women…." (Wilson). Another remarked: "I still think we're much more comfortable talking about gender oppression than we are talking about sexuality, and I think that's something that I would like to see us explore" (Cammett). In this respect we cannot avoid grappling honestly with "the gnarlier problems of thinking through these junctures and contradictions" (Wilson).

Yet it was certainly clear to all of the participants that economics and sexuality both intersect and are mutually constituted. In taking up the term "mutual constitution," scholars and activists are referring to the ways in which economic relations are crucial to the formation of sexual relations, even as sexual relations are established in and through economic relations. Of course, sexuality can be directly economic, for example when marriage is both an economic transaction and a romantic ideal (Hinojosa), or in instances of what Kamala Kempadoo and others call "transactional sex."[5] Often times our conversation focused on these direct, obviously marked intersections, because it is quite clear in such cases how economics makes sex and sex makes economics.

However, the participants also encouraged us to think beyond these direct connections and to ask how sexuality might help to constitute economic relations and how economic concerns might constitute what we come to think of as sexual relations. In this section we draw out four examples of these potential linkages between economic and sexual justice.

Linkage 1: Social Reproduction and Intimate Labor

Several of our participants argued that considerable potential exists in linking long-standing feminist work on social reproduction explicitly to sexuality (Bergeron, Bernstein, Duggan, Tadiar). Social reproduction describes the work that is done not to produce economic goods but to reproduce a society of persons who can labor to produce and consume those goods. It includes biological reproduction, the reproduction of labor power, and social practices connected to caring, socialization and the fulfillment of human needs (Bakker and Gill 2003). Childcare, housework, subsistence agriculture, cooking, voluntary work to sustain community organizations, paid domestic labor, and sex work are examples of this type of labor.[6]

5. "Transactional sex" includes what is traditionally called "sex work," but also "activities that involve a deliberate exchange of sex, often by young women, for some form of 'betterment'—material goods, clothes, school fees, accommodation, meals, social status" (Kempadoo).
6. See Glenn (1992), Gill (1994), and Bernstein (2001).

Taking social reproduction and its focus on intimate relations into account is key to understanding how markets get sustained across time. However, because the labor of social reproduction is often unpaid and done by women and because it produces people and social relations rather than goods, it is often seen to be nonproductive, leading to what many feminists regard as the systematic discounting of women's work.[7]

Activists and scholars have been especially critical of neoliberal restructuring measures for their failure to take requirements of social reproduction sufficiently seriously. Indeed a key outcome of neoliberal restructuring has been that women have been overburdened when forced into the paid labor market in the absence of policies to provide for the realities of human dependency.[8] Their working day has been extended, and they have been expected to pick up the slack of state retrenchment through extra caring labor. In effect, neoliberal policies represent an attempt to (re)privatize responsibilities on the backs of women (Brodie 1994, 48), assuming, to use economist Diane Elson's wonderful phrase, that their time is "infinitely elastic" (Elson 1996, 71).

The dependence of economic relations on social reproduction means that economics is constituted through the various intimate relations that make up social life, including sexual relations. One key insight here is that economic shifts profoundly change the ways in which people do intimate labor, and the arrangements, including the sexual relations, within which intimate labor takes place. In many countries, bodily labor that had previously been done by health-care professionals in hospitals has been shifted to family or other private caregivers as hospital stays have shortened and insurance companies refuse to pay for various forms of care from medical facilities. As individuals or families take on these burdens for medical care, the market in private bodily labor of various forms has boomed. Elder care, child care, and household labor have all increasingly entered the paid labor market. The paradigm of paid labor is moving from factory to home while the idea of a work-shift moves from defined hours to undefined and personalized tasks.

These changes in labor markets are deeply linked to sexual relationships and arrangements. Women from the Global South may migrate to provide care to the dependents of women of the Global North, a trend that redefines "families" and intimate connections in complex ways (Parreñas). Moreover, thinking of the various forms of intimacy that are now entering the realm of paid labor can shift how we think about sexual commerce and labor more generally. We need to ask: what distinguishes sexual commerce from extremely intimate forms of bodily labor that are involved in personal care or from other forms of domestic labor?

7. See Perkins-Gilman (1970 [1898]), Waring (1988), Folbre (1994), Sen and Grown (1987), Prűgl (2002), Peterson (2002), and Rittich (2002).
8. See Sparr (1994), Moser (1993), Brodie (1994), Benería and Feldman (1992), Baaker (1994), León (2005), and Lind (2005).

In turn, this type of analysis of the labor of intimacy changes our understanding of the meaning of labor itself. The traditional labor movement has had difficulty addressing domestic work and caring labor, as well as the sexual presumptions that undergird such labor, and yet the labor market in many places of the world is shifting toward this type of caring labor. Understanding these connections can reformulate how we approach the labor issues that are at the heart of questions of economic justice.[9]

Furthermore, with the family now such a vital site for social provisioning given the retrenchment of certain arms of the state, anxieties around family disintegration and non-normative kinship arrangements can generate panic related to concerns over how to secure the provision of caring labor. The family and the community are increasingly targeted instrumentally by neoliberal states to provide essential services and pick up the slack of social reproduction in this context. Specifically, the poor are targeted for a range of activities intended to induce and enforce normative heterosexuality, through US welfare reform (Hardisty 2008) or development projects targeted at strengthening families (Bedford forthcoming). In such programs, marriage, or at least monogamous committed partnership, is often affirmed as the ultimate antipoverty strategy, as if a normative sexual life can raise people out of poverty (Mink 1998). Indeed, in arguing that "'neoliberalism in fact has a sexual politics'" (Duggan 2002, 117), scholars and activists have critiqued the growing impulsion of policymakers to intervene in the family to secure social reproduction (Richardson 2005).

The use of the family as a measure to reduce indigence is occurring at the same time that normative family structures are being undermined by economic pressures and increased economic precariousness. Some social movements might understandably rally to defend the family on these grounds. They may mobilize around working families, or demand equal marriage rights so that individuals in same-sex relationships can gain access to health insurance if they are attached to an employed partner with this privilege. Indeed, some states have responded to market instability not with a conservative backlash against sexual minorities but with the extension of a conjugal model of marriage to previously excluded minorities.[10] While those victories are the product of movement struggles for equality, we cannot see them as entirely unrelated to new pressures to privatize the labor of social reproduction into households formed around adult couples.

Furthermore, while the family can be a site of resistance and solidarity for excluded and

9. See the 2007 conference organized by Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas on Intimate Labors: www.ihc.ucsb.edu/intimatelabors

10. See Oswin (2007), Conaghan and Grabham (2007), Barker (2006), Young and Boyd (2006).

AS DAILY SURVIVAL HAS BECOME LESS AND LESS SECURE, AND AS THE NEOLIBERAL PROMISE THAT PROSPERITY WILL TRICKLE DOWN TO ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY HAS FAILED, SOME COUNTRIES HAVE WITNESSED SCAPEGOATING OF VULNERABLE MINORITIES AND AN AGGRESSIVE REASSERTION OF NATIONALISM IN THE FACE OF PERCEIVED ECONOMIC HUMILIATION.

marginalized people, it can also be a site of power, of violence, of "perpetrators and problems," and of regulation around sexuality (Wilson, Hinojosa). Hence, forcing people to rely on "their family" for subsistence may seriously harm those who push normative boundaries and augment the power of already dominant actors in the family unit. In arguing for better linkages between work on social reproduction and work on sexuality, then, we are interested in querying, rather than reinforcing, the idea that specific types of intimate connection should be required for economic survival.

These complex linkages raise crucial questions for social movements about our vision of economic and sexual justice, broadly conceived. Key questions in this respect include: What particular forms of social reproduction are we, as advocates for justice, looking at in the neoliberal moment, what do they mean for sexuality, and are they compatible with struggles for sexual justice? In turn, what model of social reproduction are we defending and on what grounds? What are we assuming about sexuality, love, and intimacy in that model? Why should intimate attachments be a requirement for access to economic justice? What caring labor should we expect to be provided for free by those we love, and what is it just to pay for? How do we stop those acting out of love from being impoverished by their commitments? How do we reframe care as an entitlement due to everyone, rather than a contingency dependent on intimacy for which the recipient is expected to feel personally grateful? How do we move "beyond marriage" as a poverty policy?[11] These questions

11. See the "Beyond Marriage" campaign at www.beyondmarriage.org

1 Students protest over youth employment contracts in Paris, France, **2** Jewish religious children look on during an anti-gay gathering by Ultra Orthodox Jews as Jerusalem hosts Israel's Gay Pride parade. **3** Anti-immigration demonstrators protest in Union Square, New York City. **4** A man is dragged away by riot police after being detained by authorities during disturbances in the Dandora district of Nairobi.

exist precisely at the intersection of sexuality and economic justice, and as several participants noted it is past time that they were central to our conversations and struggles.

Linkage 2: Precariousness, Sexuality, and Economic Justice

Even as neoliberalism makes individuals and their families increasingly responsible for social provisioning, it also makes the lives of many of those individuals more precarious. Neoliberalism, thus, increases the insecurities of the market while undermining traditional social safety-net provisions offered by the state. This precariousness touches many sectors of society, but also varies by locale and social differences like those of gender, race, and ethnicity. For example, feminists have documented that the rise and spread of precarious work is gendered (Fudge and Owens 2006; Vosko 2006; Precarias a la Deriva 2004), as the rise in women working part-time as home workers, sex workers, and care workers attests. Italian feminist Laura Fontane argues that "Female

precariousness can be seen as a fruitful starting point for a dialogue across differences, addressing gender and reproduction, immigration, work and social welfare at the same time" (Fantone 2007, 5).

Precariousness is also an important site for forming linkages because it can be used more broadly to signal concern about growing uncertainty with respect to the sustained access to resources necessary for dignified life. Hence fears of getting sick, of insecurity in old age, of deportation and being made illegal, of make-shift housing, and of increasing prices for food, fuel, water, transport, and other essentials come under the realm of precariousness.

While a more expansive definition of precariousness can unite a range of struggles together, and can help us think through the changes wrought by economic restructuring in people's lives, it is also important to avoid homogenizing claims that *all* people face precariousness under current economic policies. As one feminist collective working in the area has noted, "A freelance designer and a sex worker have certain things in common—the unpredictability and exposure of work, the continuity of work and life, the deployment of a whole range of unquantifiable skills and knowledges. However, difference in social recognition and degree of vulnerability is also clear" (Precarias de la Deriva 2004, 158). It is helpful to draw out these differences, as well as similarities and grounds for alliance building.

These debates are relevant to us because precarious existences are linked to sexuality in various ways. Most obviously, non-normative individuals and communities are at extreme risk of poverty. Whether it is queer youth who are kicked out of their homes, transpeople who face limited employment prospects, gays and lesbians who are fired, or single mothers who have little support in raising their children, living outside accepted gender and sexual norms puts people at risk in ways that directly implicate both sexual and economic justice. Why should those who do not or cannot conform to particular sexual norms face such deprivation?

Moreover, normative sexuality can result in precariousess, for women especially. Women may be pressured to marry for economic reasons, and they may then be locked in to marriage for economic survival, especially if they drop out of the labor market to care for dependents. Certainly they can become impoverished if they divorce, but they need not rupture normative sexual arrangements to be in jeopardy. In countries with the highest life expectancies, women live, on average, five to eight years longer than men; the gap in countries with lowest life expectancy is zero to three years (WHO 2007). Worldwide, there are 182 men over 65 and 237 million women over 65; there are nine million men over 85 and 19 million women over 85 (WHO 2003). Put bluntly, even when husbands and wives remain loyally, normatively devoted for life, women are still more likely to face a precarious, isolated old age.

These examples confirm that discussion of sexual and economic justice must go beyond romanticizing the family and erasing its sites of inequality, to explore

NEOLIBERAL POLICIES REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT TO (RE)PRIVATIZE RESPONSIBILITIES ON THE BACKS OF WOMEN, ASSUMING...THAT THEIR TIME IS "INFINITELY ELASTIC"

—Diane Elson

how precarious existences are produced through both resistance to and conformity with normative models of sexuality. Analysis of the interrelations between sexual and economic justice is not just relevant to the "usual suspects" in this understanding (queer youth, sex workers, etc.), but rather goes to the heart of relational configurations of all kinds, rendering support for alternative relationality—whether in youth, midlife, or old age—key to both sexual and economic justice.

Linkage 3: Scales, Connections, Flows

Jon Binnie and Josephine Ho helpfully raised questions of scale in thinking through the relations between sexual and economic issues, a theme addressed by many of the participants (Duggan, Wilson, Parreñas, Cooper, Shah). Binnie encouraged us to think not just of the ways in which economic transactions flow between different scales—the home, the neighborhood, the city, the nation, the international—but also the ways in which these different spaces shape the possibilities for what sexuality might be. How, for example, do cities contribute to sexual possibilities, or how do different regions create different forms of interaction and relation? These questions allow us not just to connect sexual and economic politics, but also to place them in specific material contexts and locations.

In particular, sexuality is often treated as the most intimate of issues, and yet sexual politics is played out at both the national and international levels as well. In fact, several participants noted that sexual politics can be deployed by states as a means of responding to global economic forces. As daily survival has become less and less secure, and as the neoliberal promise that prosperity will trickle down to all levels of society has failed, some countries have witnessed scapegoating of vulnerable minorities and an aggressive reassertion of nationalism in the face of perceived economic humiliation. Within conservative nationalist discourses, non-normative sexualities have been constructed as threats (Binnie). For example,

"In Poland you have a new politics that is talking about economic shock therapy as having been a humiliation for the country; that they need to get their nationalist pride back. And part of that nationalist pride is attacking gays and lesbians, attacking women, attacking immigrants" (Klein). Or in Taiwan a nationalist discourse of pride in the face of global disempowerment uses accusations of sexual deviance as a means of refocusing anxieties about the status of Taiwan as a nation onto those persons within the nation whose sexualities are in any way non-normative (Ho).

In other contexts, sex is the comparative advantage that countries sell in attempting to be globally competitive. For example, tourism has been a key strategy pursued by many countries in the Global South to access foreign currency, and multilateral development lenders have actively promoted tourism as a way to capitalize on the comparative advantages held by many poor countries ("unspoiled" beaches, cheap labor, ecological diversity, and so on). Tourism is a sexualized and racialized enterprise, however (Kempadoo). The allure of exotic bodies and fantasies of sexual access to them can be part of the appeal of tourism, and hence this sexualized growth strategy can be built on—and reinforce—inequalities of race, gender, and nationality.

International tourism can also have complex, uneven effects on domestic sexual spaces. For example HIV/AIDS activism in Thailand was at first constrained heavily by the concerns of the state about the tourist economy—worries over global consumer confidence in the country as a holiday destination outweighed the concerns being raised by local activists about the epidemic. In other cases, city promotion efforts to attract international lesbian and gay tourism have led to a local loss of power over the space (Binnie), intensifying the difficulties that local activists face in

SEX IS THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE THAT COUNTRIES SELL IN ATTEMPTING TO BE GLOBALLY COMPETITIVE. TOURISM HAS BEEN A KEY STRATEGY PURSUED BY MANY COUNTRIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH TO ACCESS FOREIGN CURRENCY, AND MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT LENDERS HAVE ACTIVELY PROMOTED TOURISM AS A WAY TO CAPITALIZE ON THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES HELD BY MANY POOR COUNTRIES ("UNSPOILED" BEACHES, CHEAP LABOR, ECOLOGICAL DIVERSITY). TOURISM IS A SEXUALIZED AND RACIALIZED ENTERPRISE, HOWEVER. THE ALLURE OF EXOTIC BODIES AND FANTASIES OF SEXUAL ACCESS TO THEM CAN BE PART OF THE APPEAL OF TOURISM, AND HENCE THIS SEXUALIZED GROWTH STRATEGY CAN BE BUILT ON—AND REINFORCE—INEQUALITIES OF RACE, GENDER, AND NATIONALITY.

their struggles for justice.

Just as the nation can put sexuality into play as a means of negotiating the complexities of global economics, so too can global economics come into play at much more local scales like those of the neighborhood and the home. In New York City a battle is playing out between a group of queer and transgender young people—mainly people of color, led by the organization FIERCE!—who have long congregated at the piers over the Hudson River in the Chelsea neighborhood, and the city government, which is improving the piers and restricting the hours at which the public has access to them. These improvements represent the interests of an increasingly wealthy population of neighborhood residents. The conflict that has ensued can be seen as an extremely local battle as most of the governmental action and advocacy involved has taken place at the level of city government, between a group of people who have, in their experience, made individual choices about buying or renting increasingly expensive apartments in the neighborhood, and young people who understand themselves as the inheritors of public access to the piers, a space that has historically included non-normative people like themselves. Yet, this local neighborhood fight is also the result of larger economic forces such as shifts in finance capitalism and increasing housing prices in Manhattan. As the city government responds to the desires of residents not to be disturbed by what they see as sexual unruliness, global capital intersects with local policing. Such an analysis of flows between scales allows us to see the indirect, but nonetheless extremely powerful, connections between economic and sexual politics.

Linkage 4: Sexuality, Security, and Criminality

"At this historical moment, it may be highly instructive to explore the intersection of economic justice and sexual justice by looking into the process of how the economic and the sexual underclasses are relegated to criminality."—Ho

"[S]ecurity is the new trade. Security is the new big business. And all of this infrastructure of hypersurveillance and control has been privatized. This is the cutting edge of the neoliberal project."—Klein

One as-yet-underexplored connection between sexual and economic justice lies in the realm of security. As charted in a range of recent activist and academic work (e.g., Klein 2007, Hughes 2007), the security industry is a "boom field," and is regarded by many as the new face of economic globalization. In many parts of the world we are witnessing the dramatic rise of a surveillance society, the privatization of the military and disaster response arms of the state in the name of security, and the criminalization of many parts of our lives: all of these processes are massively profitable to global corporations.

We understand that the process of creating a security society is very much about sexuality. As economic insecurity has fostered a siege mentality (Klein) evident with respect to the claim that the family is under threat from a range of predatory forces, the state has increased its license to institute policies infringing on basic freedoms in the name of protecting us. In many parts of the world legal reforms have broadened the scope

KEY ISSUES
AIDS/TRIPS

The HIV/AIDS pandemic, and the varying political responses to it, provides one of the clearest examples of how sexual and economic (in)justice are interconnected. HIV/AIDS infection rates are correlated with poverty across the globe, and the epidemic has surged ahead as public healthcare infrastructure has been undermined by economic restructuring since the 1980s. The overwhelming majority of people with HIV, some 95% of the global total, live in the developing world (AVERT Nov. 2007). Yet spending per person living with HIV in the United States exceeds that in Latin America and the Caribbean by a factor of 35, and is 1,000 times higher than that in Africa (AVERT Nov. 2007). In the 48 countries with the highest prevalence rates of HIV, an average of 23% of children were underweight, and 30% of the total population in these countries was undernourished. By the end of 2005, 15.2 million children under 18 had lost one or both parents to AIDS. These orphans are vulnerable to poverty, exploitation, and themselves becoming infected with HIV; and they are often forced to leave the education system and find work in low-paying jobs (AVERT Nov. 2007).

It is not only in the Global South that HIV/AIDS is an economic issue, however. The US-focused HIV Cost and Services Utilization Study, the only nationally representative study of people with HIV/AIDS receiving regular or ongoing medical care for HIV infection, found that 46% of those surveyed had an annual household income of less than $10,000, placing them in the bottom quintile of the general population (RAND 1999). Only one-third of all HIV-infected Americans possess private insurance, and one-fifth is uninsured (RAND 1999). In a clear example of gendered and racialized economic injustice, women of color are disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS in the United States. Black women accounted for 67% of female AIDS cases in 2004, but only 13% of the US female population (Kaiser Family Foundation 2007). Among women, HIV mortality rates are highest for Black women (Kaiser Family Foundation 2007).

The correlation between poverty and the transmission of HIV is undoubtedly caused by a number of factors, including the economic inaccessibility of adequate health care for much of the world's population. The fact that the disease is sexually transmitted is also clearly one of these factors. As both scholars and activists have explored this connection, it has become apparent that people with fewer economic choices also have fewer sexual choices, and thus can take fewer steps to protect themselves from transmission of HIV. Women who are economically dependent on their partners, for example, may have little choice about refusing to participate in sex that puts them at risk for transmission of the disease. Similarly, for people with few economic resources, the choice between facing the risk of transmission and more immediate economic deprivation must often be decided in favor of risking disease. Activists, thus, have turned toward economic empowerment as a crucial aspect of fighting the spread of AIDS, and of fighting its sexual transmission in particular.

On a domestic and international level, the struggle against the epidemic has also required activists to get involved in trade negotiations and intellectual property disputes such as struggles over the agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). To secure access to life-saving drugs governments are being forced to challenge the monopoly structures of the pharmaceutical industry. Although antiretroviral therapy has become more widely available in low- and middle-income countries in recent years, only 28% of people living with HIV/AIDS who were in need of antiretrovirals were receiving treatment by December 2006 (WHO 2007). In low- and middle-income countries the prices of most first-line medications (taken when treatment begins) decreased by between 37% and 53% from 2003 to 2006. However, prices remain high and few generic alternatives are available (WHO 2007). Some nations have violated international drug patents in an effort to make AIDS medications more available and affordable. In June 2005, Brazil announced that it would start producing a generic version of the drug Kaletra, produced by Abbott Laboratories (Benson 2005). In April 2007, Abbott Laboratories threatened to stop launching new drugs in Thailand in response to that government's move to override international drug patents by producing generic versions (Reuters 2007).

of criminality "to include almost all social presences of sexuality" (Ho). There are increasing tendencies at the global level to treat all sex work as human trafficking, all Internet sexual exchanges as sexual predation, all adult publications featuring sexuality as pornography—and to deal with all of these as criminal acts. Josephine Ho referred to this as the "infantilization of social space"—an attempt to purge deviant sexuality, or any sexuality, from sites of social interaction that represents an impulse to intensely regulate society in the name of child protection. Ironically, the imperative to protect children from danger often perversely shifts into a justification for withholding crucial information about sex from them and leaving them isolated in the realm of the family where they are most likely to be hurt.

In a security society the police state becomes the primary focus in solving problems, choking the creative development of other methods to deal with concerns about the commercialization of sexuality and migration for sex work, for example (Cammett). As daily survival has become more and more insecure, a range of survival strategies have also been criminalized, including sex work and various forms of transactional sex (Kempadoo). Hardships associated with coming out put LGBTQ youth at risk of homelessness, substance abuse and mental-health challenges—all of which make them more vulnerable to being swept up in criminal justice systems. Moreover, as Ann Cammett points out, in prison "gay men, and particularly transwomen, are singled out for repeated sexual abuse. Lesbian women, or women who transgress gender boundaries, are singled out for sexual abuse and mistreatment in the form of coercive repression. It is not surprising that lesbian women account for a disproportionate number of political prisoners, as they embody the nexus between sexual repression and political repression by the state. In this way prison itself is a gendered institution—an expression of state power with a mandate to maintain heteronormativity within the walls and in the culture at large."

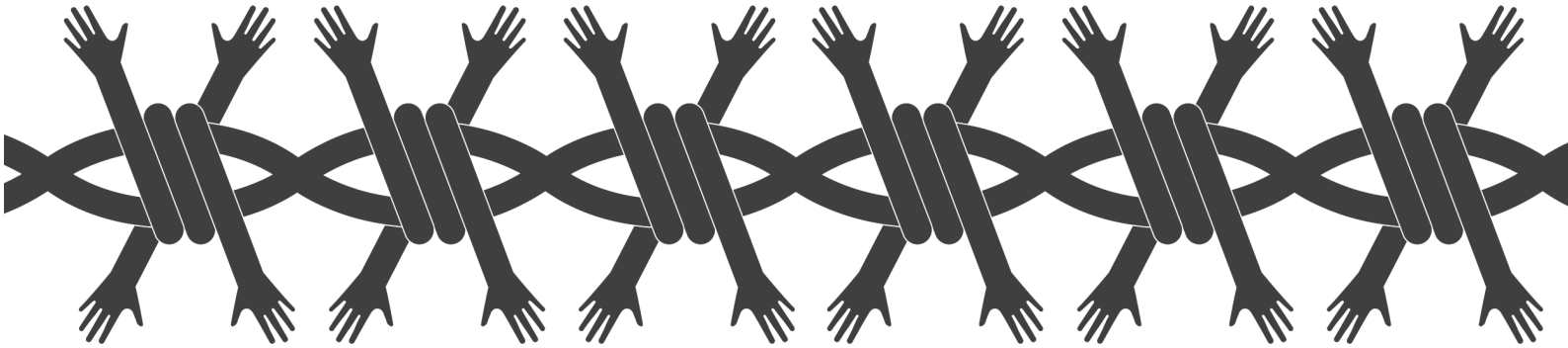
The paradoxes of a security society that uses state violence in attempts to create security have also been clearly articulated by feminist activists around the world. They have demonstrated the ways in which what Njoki Njoroge Njehû calls "good intentions"—for example, attempts by the state to legislate issues of sexual violence— can actually complicate and create vulnerabilities that threaten and/or devastate women's social and economic well-being as well as their sexual health and rights. Given that the state itself is a male-dominated institution, state-based security measures can reinforce the notion of women as weaker and in need of protection. Thus, feminist advocates who share Njehû's concerns support gender justice tied to economic justice, rather than security alone, as the appropriate context for discussions of violence against women.

Similarly, many feminists are concerned about state interventions that invoke the police as the solution to the inequities and violence that women can face in relation to transactional sex. Feminists have argued for centuries that the borderlines between so-called regular

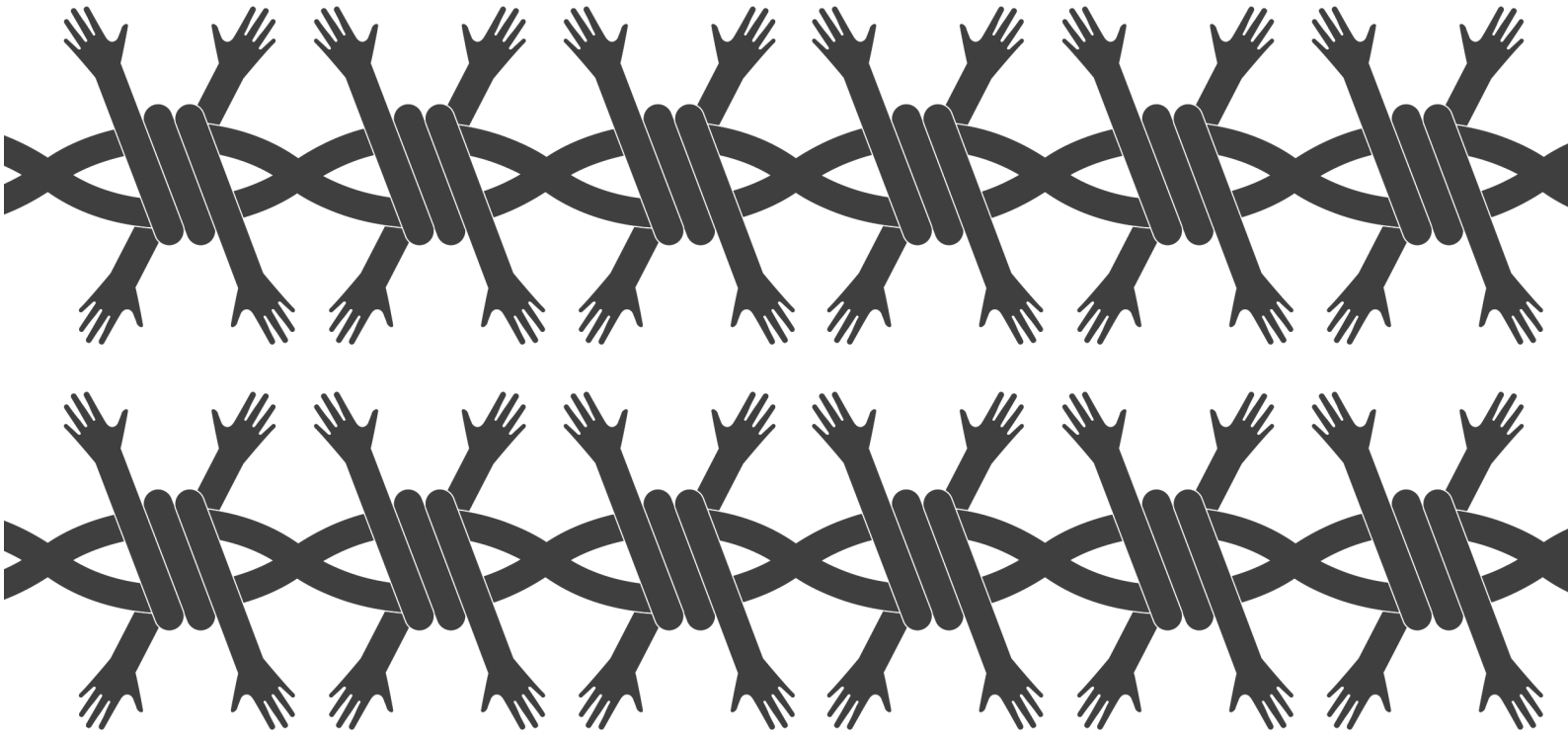
sexuality and transactional sex are blurred—this was the crux of the claim that no one can truly be free to marry until economically able to remain single (Wollstonecraft 1992 [1792]). But how we critically conceptualize the borderlines of sexuality and transaction is a particularly significant project for social justice now, given that criminalization is an increasingly common consequence of these boundaries being drawn by regulatory state actors and their allies in social movements. In the Philippines, for example, an inadvertent effect of anti-trafficking campaigns has been to further limit migrant women's labor-market choices, pushing them into low-paid domestic work, while also making it difficult to improve the working conditions of those women who do perform sexualized labor. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas argued that efforts to prevent sex trafficking invoke the policing powers of the state in ways that do not empower women impressed into transnational labor, while a focus on these women's wage labor alone is also inadequate to the forms of oppression they face.

In this regard, participants working on a range of issues, from imprisonment to sex trafficking, from exploitative labor to economic development, all emphasized the need to develop new ways of responding to issues that do not depend on incarceration or invocation of the police state. For example, we need to rethink why certain labor associated with intimacy is being criminalized and consider the impact that this association and criminalization have on other forms of women's work. We also need to consider the different kinds of sexual labor that happen in diverse spaces. Anna Marie Smith recommended: "First and foremost, we must prioritize the empowerment of the most vulnerable: their rights to entitlement, privacy, dignity, and self-determination. Neoliberal institutions usually disregard the needs of low-income women and sexual minorities altogether; when they do propose to aid them, it is usually in the form of disempowering 'rescue' operations that enhance the capacities of the security state." We need new ways to secure the rights of these communities without rendering them even more vulnerable to imprisonment, deportation, or enhanced surveillance of their private lives.

Moreover, many participants pointed out, progressive or left-wing governments have at times eagerly supported criminalization through protectionist measures, supporting the compulsory rehabilitation of sex workers in Vietnam and the United Kingdom, for example, or advocating the arrest of vulnerable, sexually marginalized youth for their own protection. This can reflect the deeply contradictory relationship between some social movements and the state (Shah), yet it is clear to many of us that global corporations and the security state—rather than the struggle for greater economic justice—are best-served by the protectionist impulse around sexual normativity. Better awareness of the central role played by security, protection, and regulation in neoliberalism would make such linkages between economic and sexual injustice clearer and place conversations about alternatives to criminalization at the center of our work on justice.



THE PROCESS OF CREATING NOT JUST A SECURITY STATE BUT A SECURITY SOCIETY IS VERY MUCH ABOUT SEXUALITY. ECONOMIC INSECURITY HAS FOSTERED A SIEGE MENTALITY, EVIDENT WITH RESPECT TO THE CLAIM THAT THE FAMILY IS UNDER THREAT FROM A RANGE OF PREDATORY FORCES, AND REINFORCING THE SENSE THAT THE STATE HAS TO INSTITUTE POLICIES INFRINGING ON BASIC FREEDOMS IN THE NAME OF PROTECTING US.



NEW VISIONS

As Claudia Hinojosa pointed out in discussion, any vision of sexual and economic justice will resonate differently in different contexts. Or as Svati Shah argued, based on her research on issues of sex work in Mumbai, "the most successful inter-movement collaborations are those which pay particular attention to the specific histories, strengths, and emphases" of work in a given context, particularly when such specifics are taken up through an "intersectional approach for building social movements." Both women suggest that we should not be searching for one overarching model of connection, but rather should recognize pluralism in our visions of justice, while simultaneously fostering sites of convergence—both of conceptual frameworks and of action. Many of our participants suggested visions that could promote convergence between sexual and economic justice. We offer them here as suggestions that might be viable connecting points in different contexts:

1. Social Security

As many of our participants noted, few of the newly intensified "security" measures actually make people's lives or their livelihoods more secure. In fact, the various forms of social security that were provided by welfare states through much of the twentieth century have been disappearing. Our participants asked what it might mean to revive the activist demand for actual social security, rather than more "border security," or yet another "war on" crime (or drugs, or anti-social behavior) that turns out to be a war on marginalized people. Can we imagine and enact forms of social security that would provide basic support for social life?

The answer to this question entails exploring a number of other questions: Is there anything that the language of security can do for us in mobilizing for justice? Is there a possibility of reasserting or affirming a language of security in relation to precariousness? Could we use the language of human security to assert a right to certain forms of social services, as has occurred in some UN venues (UN 2003)? Or do we want to use the language of social security to defend a sense of collective entitlement to social goods? And if and when we do that, how do we ensure that we don't fall into the trap of looking to the state for protection from insecurity in ways that criminalize the most vulnerable in our communities and that will be used against us when we try to mobilize for sexual justice?

The potential power of the social security rubric is that it encompasses a range of issues that are dispersed. In particular, social security could recognize the various forms of insecurity that are increasingly faced by both those who live in normative familial arrangements and those whose lives and support systems do not fit this normative model. The interests of these two groups could thus be articulated together, rather than pitted against each other. For example, the pressures felt by normative families, which increasingly depend on any number of family members entering paid labor in order to make ends meet, can be alleviated by social supports that do not dictate family

structure. As a result, the institution of "the family" would bear less weight for society as a whole and the loss of a single family member—whether through illness, death, or divorce—would not be a catastrophic threat to the well-being of all. In addition, a general social security that does not depend on individual families would free people to form various types of networks for social support that would make everyone's lives—whether their sexualities are what we currently call normative or not—more sustainable.[12]

For decades the argument against such social supports has been that they are too expensive for governments to support, and here the play on security emphasizes the choice that governments make to funnel seemingly endless amounts of money into "security" measures that do not necessarily create security for the peoples of the world (although they do create profits for security companies). The argument for social security emphasizes that this money would be better spent on social measures that would address people's increased sense of precariousness and that might also decrease the forms of social anger that contribute to violence.

12. See, e.g., Sasha Roseneil's (2004) claim that friendship networks are key to sustainable care provision in the United Kingdom, and Loree Erikson's (2007) work on creating alternative support structures with respect to personal assistance and care relationships.

2. Embodied, Inhabited Entitlements

Emphasizing the connection between sexual politics and the type of social provision and economic policy that is named by social security even further, one of the small discussion groups at the workshop produced the idea of "embodied, inhabited entitlements" (Bergeron, Bernstein, Cooper, Hinojosa, Ho, Le Roux). A discussion of some of the problems with the prevalence of human rights language in contemporary politics (in which human rights has come to stand in for all forms of social justice) led the group to try to develop a means of fleshing out a right to social goods and basic social welfare. Human rights language, they felt, may not be the best vehicle for advocating for the provision of such goods. Embodied, inhabited entitlements, on the other hand, emphasize the ways in which social life, along with the resources on which it depends, is always embodied, and embodiment always requires both economic and sexual justice.

An example of an embodied, inhabited entitlement suggested by Josephine Ho would be an end to sexual deprivation. Ho pointed out that there is a great deal of concern (although not necessarily a great deal of effective action) in the global arena about sexual exploitation, yet there is no discussion of the ways in which social relations and laws can virtually guarantee forms of sexual deprivation. Disability-rights activists have long argued that denial of sexual intimacy and knowledge about sexuality can be a devastating form of oppression experienced by people with disabilities,

and the concept of embodied, inhabited entitlements has clear traction in this debate (Tepper in Erikson 2007, 42). Moreover, various laws enforce the deprivation of sexual knowledge, whether these laws are "gag rules" on the provision of information about reproductive choice or laws that attempt to prevent exploitation by restricting sexual information on the internet. Ho suggests that an end to sexual deprivation of this type could be seen as an embodied, inhabited entitlement.

The idea of such entitlements would allow a specifically sexual politics, like concern about sexual deprivation, to be placed in the context of a wider range of social goods to which people should be entitled but of which they are often deprived, from education and employment to the most basic subsistence goods of food, water, and health care. These connections among social goods lead back to the ways in which sexuality is deeply tied to the circulation of goods, ties that become all the more intense in situations of deprivation. Leading advocates in the fight against AIDS, for example, have increasingly recognized that the ability to negotiate for safe sexual encounters is both crucial to prevention of HIV infection and dependent on individuals' access to basic social goods. The more desperate any individual may be, the more likely he or she is to accept unsafe sexual encounters that offer the most minimal of social goods. Without the provision of basic embodied, inhabited entitlements, it is unlikely that efforts at preventing the spread of HIV through changes in sexual behavior will be successful.

3. We Are All Illegal

Naomi Klein pointed out that this slogan from the 2006 strike on behalf of immigrants' rights in the United States can be a rallying cry for a number of issues in addition to immigration. Neoliberalism in its newest form is characterized by a security economy that profits from making people illegal and then policing them. The intensification of border security in places like the United States and the European Union has increasingly made movement back and forth across borders difficult. The business of routing out and imprisoning people who attempt border crossings without the appropriate documentation is growing apace, and new laws are penalizing employers as well as immigrants in this regard.

Klein argues that this type of intensified security action is part of a new economy reliant on maintaining and extending the criminalization of a variety of activities such that at any given moment we are all literally illegal—even as arrests and prosecutions focus on marginalized groups. Various forms of sexual commerce have also fallen under this rubric such that certain forms of new openness, like decriminalization of sex work in the Netherlands, have been accompanied by intensified policing in other areas. For example, many forms of prostitution are now treated as "human trafficking," even if they do not involve the type of coercive labor relation to which "trafficking" usually refers. Klein's suggestion is to connect the various movements working to free people from the threat of state sanction for pursuing their livelihoods: immigrants-rights movements, abolition and prison-reform movements, campaigns against

Indian activists of human rights and sexual freedom prepare to take part in a march entitled the 'Rainbow Pride Walk'

"OUR POINT OF DEPARTURE IS A DOMINANT SEXUAL CULTURE IN WHICH ALL SEXUAL PRACTICES, PARTICULARLY IF THEY ARE PLEASURABLE OR NOT LINKED TO REPRODUCTION, ARE GUILTY, UNLESS PROVEN INNOCENT. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW ETHICAL FRAMEWORK IN THIS REGARD COULD POSSIBLY LAY OUT THE VISION OF A POLITICAL CULTURE IN WHICH WE CAN REVISIT SEXUALITY AS A PRACTICE OF FREEDOM."

—Claudia Hinojosa

the war on drugs, and sex workers-rights movements. Mobilization on various issues can represent different arms of a convergent movement to stop the for-profit criminalization of people's lives.

4. Safe Ick

Early in the conversation, Svati Shah raised the "ick" factor in trying to articulate a vision of sexual and economic justice. Many in the room, as activists in self-identified progressive or leftist social movements, had experienced this sense of unease that creeps into conversations about sexuality in many different contexts. Certainly, the sense that there is something "icky" in focusing on and talking about sex is widespread in many social movements. Yet, by the end of the day, nearly every group included some form of the "ick" factor in trying to speak of sexual and economic justice. Their efforts reflected the recognition that sexuality is a complex phenomenon that brings up a myriad of emotional reactions, which cannot (or should not) be reasoned away. Rather, the group projects were suggesting that it is important to allow space for the complexities of sexuality—its various and contradictory emotional effects—since these are, in fact, often part of the attractions of sexuality. If sexuality and sexual practice were not messy, sometimes convoluted and often complicated, they would not have the power of excitement, bonding, and pleasure that makes them so enthralling. Thus, rather than arguing for an end to "ickiness," the groups advocated a politics that might make for "safe ick." Here, the recognition that sexuality and sexual practice is powerful and can be dangerous was not disconnected from the possibility of pursuing both sexual pleasure and sexual justice.

In this part of our vision, we foreground discussion of positive freedoms with respect to sexuality, while trying to remain attentive to the power inequalities and violence that characterize so many sexual relations. We hereby highlight pleasure as a crucial component of our work on sexual and economic justice. Key questions in this regard include: How can we remain focused on issues of violence and safety and yet ensure that space is not entirely consumed by debate about negative rights and the need for protection? Where can we envision sexually liberating, pleasurable modes of interaction that are safe and free from violence and other forms of coercion, and that do not rely for their realization on bolstering the prison industry or withholding sex education from young people in the name of protecting them? How can we understand the complexities of sex such that sexual practice does not have to be sanitized to be safe?

5. Everyday Utopias

Davina Cooper's idea of searching out "everyday utopias" resonated with much of the group. Like those interested in the idea of embodied, inhabited entitlements, she asks where we might find power in bodies and relational forms in addition to those organized as political movements. Cooper has been studying a number of these sites, including alternative forms of economic exchange, and everyday sexual utopias like the women's bathhouse in Toronto, Canada. Experiments like the Toronto bathhouse point to the ways in which alternative sexual practices also

provide experiments in possibility that can materialize new means of social relation and provision. If at the beginning of the colloquium our typical response to the question, "What is the economy for?" was that it should provide for well-being, what are the implications of building alternative social relations through the practices that Cooper refers to as "everyday utopias"? If the traditional economy depends on sexual regulation and normative control, can advocates of sexual democracy and everyday utopia provide a means of rethinking how the economy itself provides for social goods and services? In the end, the colloquium suggested that thinking about sexual justice can be one route to rethinking this most basic economic question: How best can we provide for human well-being? What types of social relations, affiliations, bonds, affections, and connections can make another world possible?

6. Sex and Value(s)

In working to develop this vision of social and sexual well-being, participants asked what it would mean to have a positive vision of sexuality that moves beyond negative freedoms of protection from harm and toward a vision of good sex or sexual goods. What is good in the world that is created by sexual relations? How can we support movements that see sexual justice not simply in terms of equal treatment of different sexual identities, but that embrace sexuality as "a mode of expression, exploration, interpersonal communication, adventure, confidence-building, self-fulfillment and greater understanding" (Cooper)? Or as Claudia Hinojosa put it, "Our point of departure is a dominant sexual culture in which all sexual practices, particularly if they are pleasurable or not linked to reproduction, are guilty, unless proven innocent. The development of a new ethical framework in this regard could possibly lay out the vision of a political culture in which we can revisit sexuality as a practice of freedom."

This positive vision of sexual justice also asks how empowerment around sexual issues can contribute to increased possibilities for justice in other parts of people's lives. Are sexually empowered people better able to negotiate labor rights, for example—and should we try to find out? If community development projects focused less on microenterprise and more on sexual pleasure and g-spots, might gender and development organizations do a better job with empowerment and avoid problems of overburdening women with more work?

In exploring these interconnections, we are interested in sex as a site for the production of values. Certainly, sex can create pleasure, but it can also create important social relations, communities that can care for each other, as well as intimate bonds that help people to sustain themselves in a wide variety of circumstances (Jakobsen and Pellegrini 2003). This positive vision of sexual freedom challenges any strict division between needs and desires—a division that is often used, even in progressive politics, to deny the importance of sexuality to politics. When it came to the AIDS crisis in the United States, for example, people who were bound together in a community of desire also worked together to meet each other's needs in a situation of deathly neglect by the state and, often, by the biological

families of individuals infected with the virus. Key unresolved questions here remain about how we highlight and celebrate these connections without allowing states to instrumentalize them—but many different groups are committed to working through those conundrums.

7. Sexual Democracy

Activists in the Global South have reframed democracy projects through their attempts to "make democracy mean something" (Fonow) by fostering participative, engaged democratic initiatives, and by considering how to realize democracy in an everyday sense. In Latin America, for example, economic restructuring has rendered the formal rights won by women inapplicable in many instances (León), leading movements to focus on how better to connect formal rights to the material ability to exercise them. Drawing on this work, Lisa Duggan has helpfully called the idea of social support for alternative relational configurations "sexual democracy," pointing to the ways in which democratic freedoms can apply not just to social categories like speech, the press, and religion, but also to the right to form affective bonds and intimate relations. Sexual democracy not only secures democratic freedom in an area where it is often denied, but it also allows for the type of experiments in living that democracy is supposed to provide. In this sense, the material practice of democracy is not just about rights and freedom —although these are absolutely crucial—but it is also about the forms of social goods and social justice that are produced through people's material practices and their production of new forms of relationships and communities.

This approach offers an alternative vision of sexual and social life in which equality would be found in the pluralism of the various forms of relation that people might build. In terms of sexual democracy, for example, to be a single mother and to raise children under sometimes trying circumstances would be a moral accomplishment, not a source of moral shame. Similarly, extended social networks that provide for mutual care could be recognized as important building blocks to a society, rather than insignificant matters of individual choice.

Importantly, this form of sexual justice implies that we must understand that the various forms of pleasure that people produce are not necessarily subsumed by capitalism. Often we attribute the very possibility of pleasure to commodity culture and to capitalism more generally. Yet the workshop participants argued that needs and desires are not only fulfilled by products. Nor do people simply need and desire pleasure; people also produce pleasure. Sexual democracy is a means of taking sexual pleasure back from capitalism and locating sexual possibility in human beings.

Duggan notes that such a move requires social support. Of course the state puts all kinds of resources into sexuality currently—just not into sexual democracy. It spends its money on various forms of sexual regulation, on subsidies for normative sexuality, and also on the policing of sexual commerce. If these resources were turned toward sexual democracy, everyone would have the possibility of a sexual life beyond one circumscribed by capitalism on one side and the state on the other.

NEW METHODS, NEW ALLIANCES

STRATEGIES FOR THE FUTURE

"For our ultimate survival we must begin to emphasize and develop approaches that lead to healthier, more involved and more proactive communities" —Cammett

Our event raised a multitude of difficult questions. Answering them will require new collaborations across previously divided movements and issues, further conversations among advocates of economic and sexual justice as well as those working on a number of other issues, and new ways of organizing. In this section we map out some of these new methods and strategies.

New methods of seeking justice will not just be in the form of new social movements, but will need to include new means of developing, communicating, and sustaining the vision and energy required of struggles for justice. Gabrielle Le Roux offered an emphasis on "linking up and sharing information in an inclusive way specifically recognizing as experts people who have first-hand experience of the issue under discussion." Le Roux uses drawings of activists accompanied by their stories to embody and materialize the courage and foresight that allow people to continue the pursuit of justice. Other forms of artistic expression are equally important both to developing the ability to see alternative possibilities and to communicating those visions. Because this work is not reflected in the mainstream media a willingness to develop alternative media is crucial. Videos, books, blogs, performances, and exhibitions are all needed to stimulate public debate.

Mary Margaret Fonow argued that we should more consciously mobilize the erotic energy that is so often a part of organizing. For example, Fonow suggested that drawing on traditions of fun-loving, sometimes raucous activity, and, indeed, sexual interaction that mark labor organizing can provide a site from which to build these connections, as well as new energy for our struggles. Similarly, Ara Wilson has shown that work in non-governmental organizations can be a site for sexual, as well as political, connection. We could recognize the importance of this sexuality in our political work. What other methods might create more energetic resources for the realization of justice?

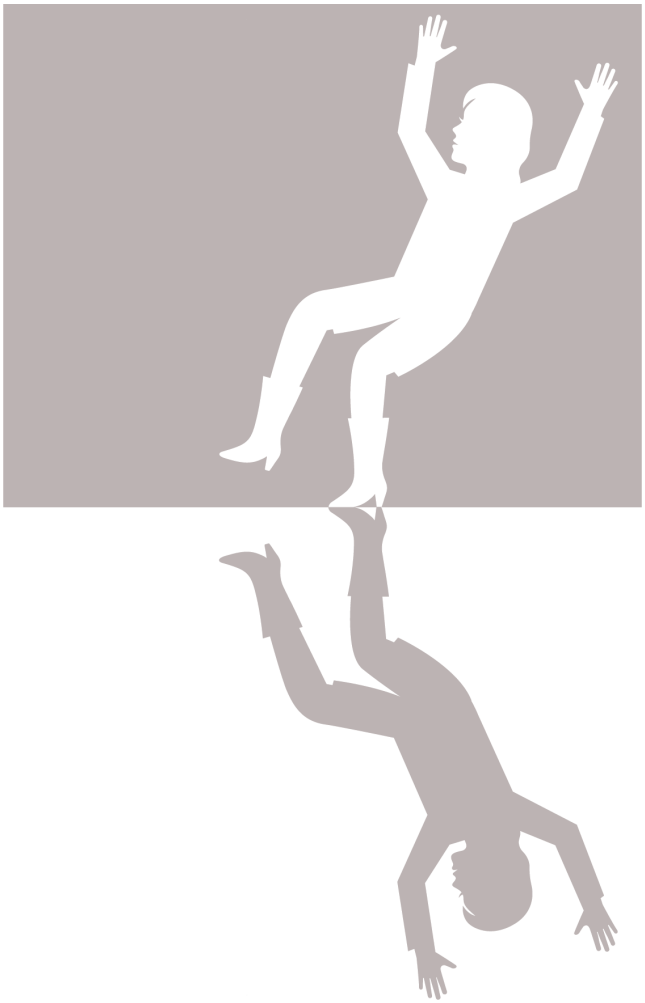
One of the major methods for pursuing broader visions of justice is to develop better alliances and sites of collaboration. In this spirit, the conference produced a number of suggestions for new alliances that might be formed in order to connect sexual and economic justice. For example, there are exciting possibilities for more expansive work on sexuality issues within the labor movement. Given that gay activism for economic justice takes place in professional associations, universities, and courts, as well as in smaller, more autonomous spaces, it is necessary to nurture strategies that work inside mainstream organizations and institutions as well as outside them, and that appeal to the state as well as offer a critique of it.

As with the labor movement, there are already well-developed movements in support of women's economic empowerment that seek to disrupt traditional breadwinner-housewife assumptions and offer women economic autonomy. Advocates for sexual minorities share similar concerns about the effects of family structures and

heteronormative assumptions on well-being, and yet these two movements are rarely connected. Making an alliance among these movements would allow for stronger advocacy to address the insecurities and precariousness that people face under neoliberalism and to build connections between relational empowerment—whether within normative family units or outside of them—and economic empowerment. Advocates for alternative lives and relational possibilities, including queer youth and those seeking alternative housing for the elderly, rights for widowed and single women, and spaces for communal child care and health care, could meaningfully connect their issues in new ways.

Similarly, prison issues are deeply implicated in the economic structures of society, as the massive growth of incarceration has accompanied the growth of neoliberalism. The issue of imprisonment is also tied to heteronormative assumptions and to the ways in which movements to end both domestic violence and sexual exploitation have turned to the carceral state (Cammett). Alliances between prison activists like those of Critical Resistance and antiviolence advocates, like those of Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, have been very effective, and similar alliances could be formed between prison activists and sex-worker advocates. Labor organizers could also be brought into such an alliance as labor movements provide a means of addressing the exploitation of labor, including sexual labor, through economic empowerment rather than by appeals to the carceral state.

None of these alliances have been—or will be—easy to form. The histories and cultures of different social



movements often stand in the way of successful alliances, and more mainstream organizations may fear that allying with sexuality campaigners will jeopardize their funding and/or respectability (see page 41). But providing the frameworks through which such alliances can make sense is at least a first step.

Participants also suggested that our future strategies take advantage of the space available within existing sites to discuss sexual and economic justice. For example, NGOs working on rights-based issues could be a crucial arena. As Ara Wilson notes: "Many actually existing projects exploring the intersection of sexual justice and economic justice take place in NGOs, and the locus for the most broad-ranging discussions of sexual and economic justice has taken place in the orbit of NGOs and Human Rights (HR) projects, particularly those focused on women's issues that proliferated

during the 1980s and 1990s. Operating within the limited and problematic parameters of the UN-NGO orbit and relying on liberal (or at times neoliberal) discourse, some NGOs and HR efforts consider sexual freedom alongside critiques of global capitalism. For example, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era) is a network focused on economic redistribution that includes sexual rights as an integral part of its agenda. When they relocate to the radical context of the World Social Forum, [DAWN joins] a network of southern women's NGOs [to] stage 'Feminist Dialogues' exploring the effects of neoliberal policies and militarism on women's sexual bodies."[13]

As the most powerful discourse for making political claims today, human rights generally delimits political rights to exclude economic issues. However, many of those working transnationally for women's sexual rights and LGBT rights emphasize a substantive conception of rights that insists that economic, social, and political rights are indivisible. For example, the 2006 Yogyakarta Principles, a declaration of sexual and gender rights, includes "the right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, safe drinking water, adequate sanitation and clothing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. At their most promising, then, NGO and HR projects exploit the contradictions of neoliberalism to link sexual liberalism and economic redistribution."[14]

There are also interesting initiatives to get sexuality taken more seriously in the arena of development. One key intervention is being pioneered by the Sexuality and Development Programme at the UK-based Institute for Development Studies, which aims to link sexuality issues to the agendas of major development institutions.[15] It has also sponsored working papers addressing sexuality and development, including one by Peruvian scholar Henry Armas that asserts forthrightly: "far from being secondary to the important matters of housing, education, employment, political participation and so on, sexual rights are an important battlefield in our fight against poverty and are fundamentally interdependent with rights to health, housing, food and employment." Armas also uses recent shifts in development thinking about poverty to argue that "if poverty is understood to be not just material, but to also be about exclusion, ill-being, and restrictions on capacities and freedom, then the lack of sexual rights in itself constitutes poverty" (2007, 1). By capitalizing on this work to link sexuality to human rights and development frameworks, the aim is to intervene in the dominant conversations (and funding streams) shaping multilateral action on poverty, and to place sexual justice firmly on the agenda of organizations more accustomed to dealing with economic inequality.

13. Feminist Dialogues is made up of Isis International (Manila), DAWN, INFORM (Sri Lanka), Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice, Articulación Feminista Marcosur, FEMNET–African Women's Development and Communication Network, and the Indian National Network of Autonomous Women's Groups.

14. See also World Association for Sexual Health (2008).

15. See www.ids.ac.uk/go/research-teams/participation-team/projects-and-outputs/realising-sexual-rights. See also Cornwall, Correa, and Jolly (2008).

SOME MODELS OF ACTIVISM

While much work remains to be done, there exist a number of helpful, sometimes experimental, models for activism on which we can draw when working toward economic and sexual justice. As is often the case with the development of movements, smaller organizations are leading the way. Here we offer some instances wherein people are addressing sexual and economic justice issues in innovative ways:

Labor Movement Innovations

Pride At Work (http://prideatwork.org) is a constituency group of the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations) founded in 1994 to advocate for the rights of LGBT workers within unions and to build alliances between the Labor Movement and the LGBT Community. Activities include strike support for graduate students at the University of Michigan seeking to remove the transgender exclusion from their health benefits, training for union leaders on LGBT issues, negotiation of domestic-partner benefits along with antidiscrimination clauses in union contracts, and political campaigns for gay rights.

Workers Out!/Human Rights World Conference (www.copenhagen2009.org/Conference.aspx) is held in conjunction with the Outgames. Participants seek to redefine the rights of LGBT workers as human rights. One goal of the conference is to assist unions worldwide in taking up the struggle for the rights of LGBT people in the workplace and in the broader society and to further the international union movement's fight to end discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity.

Educational International (EI) and Public Service International (PSI) (www.ei-ie.org; www.world-psi.org): In 2003 these two international federated labor bodies, representing millions of workers in hundreds of unions throughout the world, launched a series of initiatives to advocate for the rights of LGBT workers in the educational and service sectors. These include research, a website, international forums, and international solidarity campaigns. EI and PSI published "Trade Unionists Together for LGBT Rights" the first international guide to achieving equality for LGBT workers, which describes how recent decisions in international institutions can be harnessed to protect LGBT workers, fight discrimination, and enhance gay rights.

Innovations in Support of Relational Autonomy

In 2001 the Law Commission of Canada released the report "**Beyond Conjugality**" (http://tabletology.com/docs/beyond_conjugality.pdf) calling for fundamental revisions in the law to honor and support all caring and interdependent personal adult relationships, regardless of whether or not the relationships are conjugal in nature (Beyond Marriage, 2006).

In September 2005, the city council in Salt Lake City, UT, passed an ordinance that allows employees to choose their own "**adult designee**" (www.ci.slc.ut.us/council/newsreleases/benefits_ord_revised.pdf) to receive benefits. This designee could be a roommate, relative, or domestic partner who lives indefinitely with the employee and is financially connected to the employee: this law establishes

economic dependence as the criterion for extending benefits rather than a marital or sexual relationship (Watson 2007).

Activists involved in the **Beyond Marriage** (www.beyondmarriage.org) campaign in the United States demand legal recognition for a wide range of relationships, households and families, regardless of kinship or conjugal status. They seek access for all, regardless of marital or citizenship status, to vital government-support programs including but not limited to health care, housing, Social Security and pension plans, disaster-recovery assistance, unemployment insurance and welfare assistance; separation of church and state in all matters, including regulation and recognition of relationships, households and families; and freedom from state regulation of our sexual lives and gender choices, identities, and expression.

Innovations in Mobilizations around Sex Work

SANGRAM (www.sangram.org), an Indian organization working with women sex workers on HIV/AIDS issues, has actively embraced a comprehensive strategy that relies on grassroots control of activities and a rights-based approach. It links HIV vulnerability to other vulnerabilities, such as violence, discrimination, gender, and human-rights violations. For instance, as noted on the SANGRAM Web site, "condoms are viewed as life-saving equipment that women in prostitution and sex work must have access to—by right. Workers are trained on issues such as law, inheritance, property rights and other gendered issues related to HIV." To these ends, its peer-education and condom-distribution program is managed by a collective of women in sex work, and it has mobilized against "raid, rescue and restore" missions.

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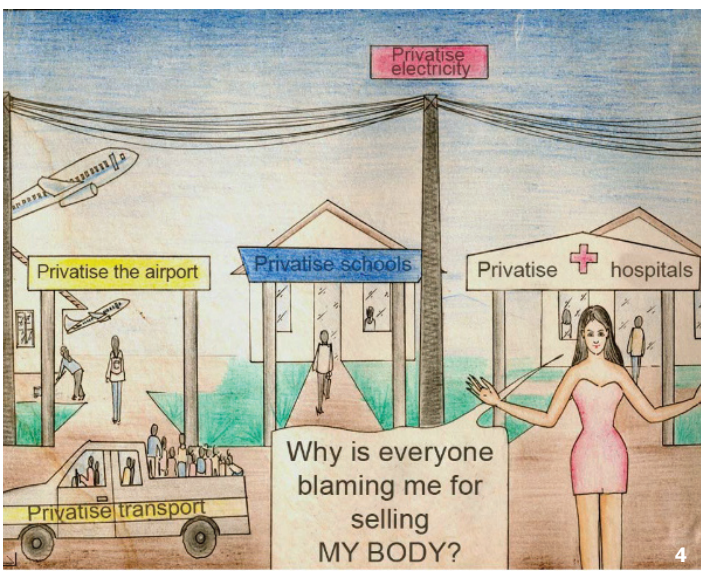

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1 Sex workers from WNU hold "condoms" which show the international organizations who "dump" bad policies for sex workers. **2** Activists from APNSW use Barbie dolls in a creative art project to demand rights for sex workers. **3** Sex workers and garment workers from WNU in Hong Kong, linking trade liberalization to the denial of rights to workers. Their posters read "Our decision: Say no to the WTO!" and "Our bodies, our lives, our decision. Our lives can not be traded." **4** A poster designed by WNU Cambodia and produced by APNSW showing the hypocrisy of neo-liberal economic policies in relation to criminal laws against sex work.

In 2003, Juhu Thukral and Melissa Ditmore of the **Urban Justice Center** (www.urbanjustice.org) in New York interviewed a diverse sample of street-based sex workers in order to document the women's own assessment of their most pressing political needs. They found that the single most important intervention that street-based sex workers desired was not directly related to prostitution at all, but rather to an inadequate supply of housing. Their primary policy recommendations consisted of long-term and transitional shelters, a "housing first" model for those who receive government assistance, and the redirection of federal, state, and local monies away from arrest and incarceration and towards affordable residences.

An awareness of the necessity of connecting struggles pertaining to sex work to a broader political and economic agenda has also been evidenced in the recent campaign to prevent the implementation of "prostitution-free zones" in Washington, DC. Like its predecessor policy of "drug-free zones," the creation of "prostitution-free zones" would criminalize economically and racially marginalized people who occupy public streets. In the face of the proposed legislation, a broad coalition of local organizations joined together to express their strong and united opposition, proclaiming it a strategy to facilitate gentrification as well as to curb the rights to public assembly of migrants, the homeless, and sex workers.

Spearheaded by the group **Different Avenues** (www.differentavenues.org), a peer-based organization for youth engaged in the sexual economy, in alliance with diverse advocacy groups for the homeless, LGBT issues, and immigrants' rights, the **Alliance for a Safe and Diverse D.C.** (www.differentavenues.org/SafeDCAlliance.html) emerged out of a political vision that was based upon the mutual constitution of sexual and social justice. Although the Alliance was not ultimately able to prevent the zones, its success in building a coalition did delay their implementation and represents a successful model of broadly based sex-worker activism though coalition building. The alliance has remained intact and politically active even after the city's decision to implement the zones, taking to the streets in order to document their impact on various DC communities and to overturn the policy on civil-rights grounds (Bernstein 2007, 186-187).

Women's Network for Unity (http://wnu.womynsagenda.org) provides another example of movement linking. This is a national network of over 5,000 female, male, and transgender sex workers in Cambodia. WNU sees the impoverished situation of sex workers in Cambodia and the limited choices they face as being directly linked to the massive changes that have taken place in Cambodia since the country was forced to set up a neoliberal market economy. Most members of WNU are internal migrants from the countryside to the cities. They see the privatization of common forest areas where they used to gather food, of common rice plots where they used to grow food, and of the waterways where they used to fish as being a key reason why they had to move to the city to search for wage labor. A large number of sex workers in Cambodia first took jobs in big factories

making clothing or other goods for big multinational companies—but they were working longer hours and for less pay than people they knew who were working as sex workers. WNU has become involved in a number of larger campaigns around issues of trade and globalization, including traveling with Cambodian garment workers and other members of the **Asia Pacific Network of Sex Workers** (http://apnsw.org) to the 2006 WTO Ministerial meeting in Hong Kong. WNU continues to engage in issues around the impact of "free" trade and globalization—including the impact of TRIPS and GATS on access to affordable medicine and health care (see text box, page 22).

Innovations in Reproductive and Sexual Rights Work

Feminist organizations working on reproductive and sexual rights are increasingly turning to the principle of pleasure in their work, trying to operationalize this concern in practical ways. In Nigeria, The International Centre for Reproductive Health and Sexual Rights (**INCRESE**) (www.increse-increse.org) is running workshops on sexual pleasure for people from all ethnic and religious communities—the organization has its own collection of sex toys for demonstrations. It also runs workshops on unsafe abortion, seminars on rape, and discussions about teenage pregnancy. Its founder, Dorothy Aken'Ova, has created a network for bisexual women and lesbians, organizing a space for women to find community and have their health needs addressed.

Similar projects are in existence elsewhere. For example **Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR)** (www.wwhr.org) in Turkey runs a human-rights training program for women that seeks to facilitate an empowering perception of sexuality by emphasizing the right to sexual expression, pleasure, and enjoyment. As Ipek Ilkkaracan and Gulsah Seral explain, "Sexual violence and reproductive sexuality are purposely addressed in separate modules, thus allowing a separate space for the participants to be able to focus solely on a positive understanding of sexual rights, including the basic right to know and like one's sexual organs, the right to seek sexual experiences independent of marital status, the right to orgasm, the right to expression and pursuit of sexual needs and desires, and the right to choose not to experience one's sexuality" (2000, 187).

In a recent reflection, Henry Armas, ex-President of the NGO **GRUPAL** in Peru, considered the links between sexual rights and GRUPAL's work on democracy and participation with youth. As he explained, "One of the key elements in the GRUPAL approach was to work on the personal dimensions of citizenship and democracy, linking those topics (that may have seemed boring or that could have reminded our young audience of corruption and politicians) with closer themes for them (like family, partners, and their sexuality). We wanted to encourage participants to link democracy with their own memories, experiences"

(personal communication). By engaging participants in debate about questions such as "Are you democratic with your sexual partner? Do you listen to your own desire? Are you respected when you say "no"? Do you dialogue about pleasure?, Armas argues that GRUPAL's workshops "can be a good entry point for getting people to think about democracy. Taking sexuality into account calls for a commitment to a 'democracy of sexuality,' one that can make real the promise of participation, citizenship and rights for all" (2007, 8).

Innovations in Work on Sexuality and Precariousness

Precarias a la Deriva (www.sindominio.net/karakola/precarias.htm) is an initiative focused on women and precariousness that arose from a feminist social center in Madrid, in response to a general strike in Spain in June 2002 about proposed labor reform. "Faced with a mobilization which did not represent the kind of fragmented, informal, invisible work that we do—our jobs were neither taken into consideration by the unions nor affected by the legislation in question—a group of women decided to spend the day of the strike wandering the city together, transforming the classic picket line into a "picket survey: talking to women about their work and their days" (Precarias a la Deriva 2004, 157). These journeys through the city's circuits of feminized precarious work prompted those involved to develop alternative ways of organizing resistance, including by focusing on care, sex, and affect as key issues; by strengthening local and international alliances; and by increasing the visibility of the issue. As the collective explains: "If we want to break social atomization, we have to intervene with strength in the public sphere…produce massive events which place precariousness as a conflict upon the table, linking it to questions of care and sexuality" (160). The group is also working on bringing together struggles by non-professional workers (telemarketers, retail and service workers), those in precarious professions (nursing, communications), and those in traditionally invisible work sectors (domestic workers, home workers, and sex workers) (Precarias a la Deriva 2004, 160).

Concerned that women's public voices on issues of migration and "illegality" were being stifled at the European Social Forum in 2003, a network of feminist students, researchers, and activists called **NextGENDERATION** (www.nextgenderation.net) organized a series of workshops during the Forum, addressing the intersection of gender, race, sexuality, and class in discussions of security and migration (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2004, 153). Mobilizations were also held around migrant women's rights by a coalition of lesbian, feminist, and migrant workers organizations based in Berlin.

In Italy, where, Laura Fantone argues, "precariousness is a constitutive aspect of many young women's lives" (2007, 5), the issue of precariousness has enabled coalitions between different

KEY ISSUES
FUNDING

One of the key consequences of neoliberalism is that NGOs are doing the outsourced work of the state. What does this mean for sexuality? What have activist debates about funding and the professionalization of social movements got to do with sexuality? And what lessons can be learned from those debates to aid organizations working toward social change?

Most obviously, funding from conservative sources can restrict the sexuality-related work of NGOs. One third of funding in President Bush's $15 billion Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) was directed toward giving abstinence-based prevention messages (Health GAP 2006), for example, and organizations that receive PEPFAR funds must agree to a "prostitution loyalty oath" by which they pledge to oppose sex work (Avert 2008). The program also allows faith-based organizations to refuse to provide information about proven methods of HIV/AIDS prevention, such as condoms. Moreover, the professionalization of NGOs may lead to less controversial stances on sexuality that will not damage an organization's reputation with funders.

In other respects, however, the self-censorship may take place around economic issues. Despite the *N* in NGO states often choose which NGOs to support, and the other major sources of funding are private monies, often from corporations. Hence, as Naomi Klein argued, "we need to talk about money as it shapes our movements…. We need to apply a basic economic analysis of following the money, of understanding that money changes us, that big money changes us even more.. The best example of this has to do with AIDS activism, and the disappearance of a very tough language around intellectual property rights and TRIPS.[1] At that 2001 summit,[2] we were talking about intellectual property, legal architecture and the absolute right to medication. The Gates [Foundation] money has made it easier to have an educational discussion about sex workers' health rights, and harder to have a discussion about TRIPS. Because Gates himself and Microsoft have been the prime architects, with the drug companies, of this ironclad intellectual property architecture. So, we are being structurally adjusted and we need to talk about it."

Finally, the parallel social services that emerge in the aftermath of the state's retreat from provisioning are often connected to religious organizations. Broadly speaking, the growth of NGOs is tied to the creation of individuals who are the objects of charity rather than the subjects of justice. More specifically, the entry of conservative Christian NGOs into government power circles can prove devastating for sexual justice (Ho). In 2006, the Bush administration disbursed $2.1 billion to faith-based organizations and programs, some of which went to fund abstinence-only education, marriage-promotion efforts, and counseling services for poor men and women on conservatively defined healthy relationships (Hardisty 2008). Conservative religious NGOs have also been successful in the creation and execution of policies, legislation and strategies that purify social space—real and virtual (Ho). In 2006, Taipei city legislators associated with an NGO called Exodus International, an international Christian organization that advocates "freedom from homosexuality through the power of Jesus Christ"—threatened to pull government funding from the annual gay festival in Taipei City because city funds should not be used to "promote homosexuality." Christian NGOs and their allies have also successfully mobilized to support international measures directed at sex trafficking, pornography, sex work, monitoring of Internet content, etc. Such international protocols are used to promote comparable, often more rigid, local legislation—all of which makes domestic struggles for sexual justice more difficult. Our participants thus suggested increased attention not only to how funding affects our ability to struggle for justice in inter-connected ways, but also to how the neoliberal reliance on NGO service provision is strengthening those opposed to progressive visions of sexual justice.

1. The Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights. Administered by the World Trade Organizaton, this agreement sets down minimum standards for many forms of intellectual property regulation.
2. The First International Summit for Access to Generic HIV Drugs, held May 3–7 2001, Ouagadougou. See http://www.genericsnow.org/pdf/pressreview.pdf

generations of feminists and better feminist linkages with the Italian labor movement. As she documents, "Four networks of young feminists **Sconvegno, Prec@s, A/matrix and Sexyshock** (http://isole.ecn.org/sexyshock/menu2.htm) have specifically addressed and appropriated precariousness, sometimes inverting its connotations and looking at it positively, or, in discursive movements inspired by queer theory, applying a touch of female provocation to the term" (2007, 7).

In another example of how precariousness has developed into a new catalyst for activism in Italy, Beppe De Sario charts how various activist movements (the independent Marxist tradition, creative activism, social activism, LGBT activism, and radical feminist activism) are mobilizing around the theme. He focuses specifically on the activist network **Precari su Marte (Precarious on Mars)** (www.inventati.org/precarisumarte) which has been active in Turin since 2005. This organization has staged political and theatrical stunts involving parodies of the Catholic liturgy, calling on Saint Precarious and Our Lady of Temporary Workers (De Sario 2007, 22).

Another example of movement interconnection was provided at "**Pinkarnival**" (www.inventati.org/pinkarnival/documentiPink/programma.html), "a threeday event in Turin, devoted—unexpectedly, outside any of the movement's political timetable or agenda—to the themes of the body and desire and, basically, to freedom of expression and experience of life. The **SambaBands of the Rhythms of Resistance network**, guests of the TorinoSambaBand, took part in the Pinkarnival. The strength of this event was such that, even if it was microscopic on the city activism scale, unscheduled things happened elsewhere: for example, LGBT activists in Turin joined the SambaBand and the militants at the Gabrio social centre" (2007, 35).

Need for Continuing Innovation

As Lisa Duggan and Svati Shah note, then, most of the progressive organizations currently attending to issues of sexuality, race, and class are local (rather than national). Hence "the challenge for all of us is how to build networks across borders, beyond the frame of the nation state. Solid local organizing can form the basis for broader associations that might challenge the 'national' organizations driving the 'gay rights' agenda of most national and many international organizations" (Duggan). But such local organizing needs to be connected up if it is to gain this broad effectiveness (Shah).

Participants also suggested that it may be necessary to form new organizations to address issues at sites of interrelation. Often the success of such new movements is what pulls older more established organizations toward these new models. Building from the ground up in ways that challenge the limits of current organizations may provide a crucial piece in making social change and in changing how we go about the project of sexual and economic justice.

HOW CAN YOU GET INVOLVED?

50 Years Is Enough: US Network for Global Economic Justice

www.50years.org

50 Years Is Enough: US Network for Global Economic Justice is a coalition of over 200 US grassroots, women's, solidarity, faith-based, policy, social- and economic-justice, youth, labor and development organizations dedicated to the profound transformation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

AHRC Research Centre for Law, Gender, and Sexuality

www.kent.ac.uk/clgs

CentreLGS is a critical, interdisciplinary, international research center, advancing scholarship that is theoretically informed and relevant to policy and that explores gender and sexuality in relation to law, governance, and normativity.

Agencia Latinoamericana de Información

http://alainet.org

The Latin American Information Agency is a communications organization committed to the full respect of human rights, gender equality, and people's participation in development and policy making in Latin America.

The Association for Women's Rights in Development

www.awid.org

The Association for Women's Rights in Development is an international membership organization connecting, informing, and mobilizing people and organizations committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development, and women's human rights by building the individual and organizational capacities of those working for women's empowerment and social justice.

The Campaign for a Convention on Sexual and Reproductive Rights

www.convencion.org.uy

The Campaign for a Convention on Sexual and Reproductive Rights was launched in 1999 and was born of an alliance between feminist organizations, networks, and campaigns in Latin American and the Caribbean. The convention will, among many things, define and protect sexual and reproductive rights, begin a public debate around these issues, and generate reliable information about topics that are plagued by myths and prejudice.

Center for Global Justice

www.globaljusticecenter.org

The Center for Global Justice, based in Guanajuato, Mexico, is an international educational and research network dedicated to progressive social movements, analysis of the worldwide effects of corporate globalization, and exploration of workable and just solutions to the social and economic problems caused by neoliberal policies.

Center for Popular Economics

www.popularеconomics.org

The Center for Popular Economics is a nonprofit collective of political economists based in Amherst, MA, which examines root causes of economic inequality and injustice, including systems of oppression based on race, class, gender, nation, and ethnicity, and puts useful economic tools in the hands of people fighting for social and economic justice.

Center for the Study of Sexualities

http://sex.ncu.edu.tw/english/EnglishCenterIntroduction.htm

The Center for the Study of Sexualities at National Central University in Taiwan is a research- and information-based collective focusing on the theme of sexuality in its relation to gender and other social differences such as class, race, age, and disability.

Coalition for Sexual and Bodily Rights in Muslim Societies

www.wwhr.org/csbr.php

This Coalition includes over 40 organizations of different backgrounds (women's rights, human rights, LGBT, health, research) from the Middle East, North Africa, South and South East Asia working on sexuality issues. It works with a holistic approach and believes that sexual rights are interlinked with economics, and social justice, as well as equality.

DAWN: Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era

www.dawnnet.org

DAWN is a network of women scholars and activists from the economic South who engage in feminist research and analysis of the global environment and are committed to working for economic justice, gender justice, and democracy.

Focus on the Global South

www.focusweb.org

Focus on the Global South is a nongovernmental organization working in Thailand, the Philippines, and India, combining policy research, advocacy, activism and grassroots capacity building in order to generate critical analysis and encourage debates on national and international policies related to corporate-led globalization, neoliberalism, and militarization.

Fórum Social Mundial (World Social Forum)

www.forumsocialmundial.org.br

The World Social Forum is an open meeting place where social movements, networks, NGOs, and other civil society organizations opposed to neoliberalism and a world dominated by capitalism or by any form of imperialism come together to network for effective action.

Gender Action

www.genderaction.org

Gender Action is the only organization dedicated to promoting gender equality and women's rights in all International Financial Institution (IFI) investments such as those of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, ensuring that women and men equally participate in and benefit from all IFI investments.

The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women

www.gaatw.net

The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) is an Alliance of more than 80 nongovernmental organizations from all regions of the world who work to address the core aspects of trafficking in persons: forced labor and services in all sectors of the formal and informal economy as well as the public and private organization of work. GAATW organizations also promote and defend the rights and safety of all migrants and their families against the threats of an increasingly globalized and informalized labor market.

Health Global Access Project

www.healthgap.org

Health Global Access Project is an organization of US-based AIDS and human-rights activists, people living with HIV/AIDS, public-health experts, fair-trade advocates, and concerned individuals who campaign against policies of neglect and avarice that deny treatment to millions and fuel the spread of HIV.

International Association For Feminist Economics

www.iaffe.org

The International Association for Feminist Economics is a nonprofit organization that seeks to advance feminist inquiry in economic issues and to educate economists and others on feminist points of view.

International Forum on Globalization

www.ifg.org

The International Forum on Globalization is a North-South research and educational institution composed of leading activists, economists, scholars, and researchers providing analyses and critiques on the cultural, social, political, and environmental impacts of economic globalization.

The International Gender and Trade Network

www.igtn.org

The International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN) is a network of feminist specialists who provide technical information on gender and trade issues. IGTN acts as a political catalyst to enlarge the space for critical feminist perspectives and action on trade and globalization issues.

International Union of Sex Workers

www.iusw.org

The International Union of Sex Workers campaigns for the human, civil, and labor rights of those who work in the sex industry.

Jobs with Justice

www.jwj.org

Jobs with Justice is a network of local multi-issue grassroots coalitions of unions, churches, students, and community organizations dedicated to workers' rights struggles as part of a larger campaign for economic and social justice. Using justice campaigns as an organizing form, Jobs with Justice builds coalitions that expand workplace justice to include affordable housing, universal health care, and a wide range of community development issues.

Our World is Not for Sale Coalition

www.ourworldisnotforsale.org

Our World is Not for Sale Coalition is a worldwide network of organizations, activists, and social movements committed to challenging trade and investment agreements that advance the interests of the world's most powerful corporations at the expense of people and the environment.

Partners In Health

www.pih.org

Partners In Health is a nonprofit organization committed to working in partnership with community-based groups on projects designed to improve health outcomes in poor communities and alleviate the social and economic barriers to good health.

The Pink Space

www.pinkspace.com.cn

This Beijing-based organization aims to promote movements for sexual rights in China and build partnerships with activists, practitioners, and scholars from the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Focusing mainly on sexually oppressed women, a group that it defines as including "sex workers, the disabled, single mothers, divorced women, elderly women, HIV positive women, young people, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender, etc.", it provides spaces—through a hotline, workshops, and meeting events—for these people to talk about their sexualities. It also provides technical support to help these communities meet their identified needs and realize their sexual rights.

The Pleasure Project

www.thepleasureproject.org

The Pleasure Project is an educational initiative that promotes sex-positive safer-sex and HIV prevention programs, working with NGOs and the public-health sector to provide training, consultancy, research, and publications to sexual-health trainers and counselors who want to take a more sex-positive approach to their work.

Queers for Economic Justice

http://qej.tripod.com/qej2/index.htm

Queers for Economic Justice is a progressive nonprofit organization committed to promoting economic justice in a context of sexual and gender liberation, and changing the systems that create poverty and economic injustice in our communities.

Refuse and Resist!

www.refuseandresist.org

Refuse and Resist! is a nonpartisan, national membership organization that builds and encourages many forces of resistance: speaking out in schools, communities, and in the media; organizing forums and meetings; demonstrating in the streets; and creating and performing cultural works.

The Sex Workers' Project at the Urban Justice Center

www.sexworkersproject.org

The Sex Workers' Project (SWP) at the Urban Justice Center provides legal services and legal training, and engages in documentation and policy advocacy for sex workers. Using documentation-based advocacy, policy analysis, training and education, and collaboration with community-based service providers, SWP advances practical, long-term solutions to the problems faced by this vulnerable and marginalized population.

The Sexuality and Development Programme

www.ids.ac.uk/go/research-teams/participation-team/projects-and-outputs/realising-sexual-rights

The Sexuality and Development Programme of the Institute of Development Studies is a research group that supports inquiry and communications aimed at rethinking the relationship between sexuality, rights, and development and building stronger links between people in different contexts working to realize their sexual rights.

Sylvia Rivera Law Project

www.srlp.org

Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) is a collective organization that works to guarantee that all people are free to self-determine their gender identity and expression, regardless of income or race, and without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence. Founded on the understanding that gender self-determination is inextricably intertwined with racial, social, and economic justice, SRLP seeks to increase the political voice and visibility of low-income people of color who are transgender, intersex, or gender nonconforming and to improve access to social, legal, and health services for these communities.

United for a Fair Economy

www.faireconomy.org

United for a Fair Economy raises awareness that concentrated wealth and power undermine the economy, corrupt democracy, deepen the racial divide, and tear communities apart.

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